



THE

NEGRO'S MEMORIAL,

OR,

ABOLITIONIST'S CATECHISM;

BY
AN ABOLITIONIST.

He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he
be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

Exod. xxi. 16.

Albeit, unjust success
Empowers you now unpunished to oppress,
Revolving empire you and yours may doom :
(Rome subdued all, yet Vandals vanquish'd Rome !)
Yes ; empire may revolve, give them the day,
And yoke may yoke, and blood may blood repay.

SAVAGE'S PUBLIC SPIRIT, 1739.

The evils of which the planters complain, proceed from
the vices of their system.

WILBERFORCE.

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INTRODUCTION.

LIVING in a country where discussions respecting Slavery, particularly West-Indian Slavery, have been constantly recurring for nearly half a century, it was impossible that the Author of the following pages could be altogether unacquainted with the subject of them; but he has to acknowledge that the interest which he took in it was, for many years, not greater than that which is ordinarily excited by such transactions, as, although they appeal strongly to the feelings, fail to make a due impression, because the scene of them is remote, and the facts are disputed. The recent transactions at Demerara, however, induced him to enter more minutely into the investigation, for the purpose of fully satisfying his own mind respecting them. From this enterprize he did not allow himself to be deterred by the magnitude and extent of the materials whence his information was to be obtained; and having, by an examination of a great mass of documents, acquainted himself, as he conceived, with the general merits of the several points at issue, as well as with the history of the facts which are connected with them, it occurred to him, that that information which he had thus acquired, if digested into a small compass, and presented in a familiar garb, might be both acceptable and useful to

many persons, whose leisure or habits would not permit them to acquire it at such an expense of time and labour as he had been induced to bestow upon it.

To such readers he respectfully presents his Catechism, sensible that it is not without imperfections, yet in the hope that it will be found to be in no material point erroneous; and that, although decided in the sentiments which it advances and advocates, it will not be impeachable of a want of due candour, or of a disregard to truth. Should it excite in the minds of any persons who are rising into active life, a warm interest in this great moral question, the labour bestowed upon its compilation will be fully compensated to the Author.

He would remind his younger readers, that they now enjoy in England, information and mental culture to an extent unknown in any other age or country; and that they are therefore called upon by every obligation of gratitude as well as of duty, to improve and extend those benefits to their degraded fellow creatures. This they have it in their power to do, by using means to obtain the authoritative abolition of *slavery* throughout the British Colonies; and thus to raise to the rank of men, millions of beings in Africa and America, who, equally with themselves, are entitled to that rank, although they have been deprived of it through successive generations, by practices as impolitic as they are unjust, and as revolting to humanity as they are inconsistent with the dictates of that religion the authority and influences of which we all acknowledge.

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SECTION I.

O F S L A V E R Y.

Q. 1. WHAT is slavery?

A. The unreasonable subjection of the mind or body of man to influence or power. Mental slavery is a subjection of the understanding to passions, habits, or authority. Bodily slavery is that state of personal bondage in which one part of mankind is held by the other. "Pure and proper slavery," says Blackstone,* "is that where-
" by an absolute and unlimited power is given to the mas-
" ter over the life and fortune of the slave."

Q. 2. Does the latter description of slavery exist?

A. Yes: in many parts of the world: in Siberia, and other parts of the Russian empire; in the countries which are under Mohammedan rulers; in many parts of Asia, the Eastern Archipelago, and America; and particularly in the West-Indies.

Q. 3. What effects does it produce?

A. Individual misery and social demoralization. "It is
" neither useful," says Montesquieu, "to the master nor
" to the slave. Not to the slave, because he can do
" nothing from virtuous motives; and not to the master,
" because he contracts among his slaves all sorts of bad
" habits, and accustoms himself to the neglect of all the
" moral

B

* Commentaries, vol. i, p. 423, 10th edit.

“ moral virtues ; becoming haughty, passionate, obdurate, “ vindictive, voluptuous, and cruel.” It prevents mental cultivation, and is every-where hostile to the spread of Christianity, with all the moral and social benefits of that divine institution.

Q. 4. Is corporal slavery every-where the same?

A. The *nature* or principle of it is every-where the same, although its *effects* may be regulated according to the degree, or mode of oppression.

Q. 5. What are the peculiar and distinctive features of the various kinds or degrees of slavery?

A. *Russian* or *Siberian* slavery is generally understood to be a species of villenage which subjects the villeins or slaves to the absolute disposal of the great proprietor of the estate, or lord of the soil on which the slaves are born and live. Domestic slavery also prevails among the Russians to a considerable extent. *Mohammedan* slavery is principally domestic, and chiefly affects the female part of the community. It had its foundation in the Mohammedan conquests, and the subjects of it were prisoners taken in war. It is now supported partly by violence and partly by fraud; the Turks every-where continuing, like the heathen nations of antiquity, to enslave those whom they take captive in war; but as this source would not furnish them with an adequate supply, the opulent Mohammedans purchase slaves, chiefly young females, of worthless parents and others who are willing to sell them. *Negro* slavery, or the slavery of the natives of Africa, who are imported from that continent to America and the Islands of the West-Indies, is far more oppressive than either of the foregoing: it is a system “ sui generis” in almost every part of it.

Q.

Q. 6. Is slavery consistent with the political Constitution of Great Britain ?

A. No! "slaves cannot breathe in England." Those who have been in a state of bondage in the British Colonies or in foreign countries, when they land upon our shores, are, from that moment, emancipated, and enjoy the protection of the law, which does not sanction slavery.

Q. 7. How long has the law ceased to sanction slavery in Britain ?

A. Generally since the reformation of religion, but more particularly since the year 1772, when the important question whether a man could be treated as a slave in England was solemnly argued before the Judges in the Court of King's Bench, and decided in the negative.

Q. 8. Had any particular cases led to this solemn decision against slavery, and if so, what were they ?

A. There were several. The first was that of *Jonathan Strong*, an African slave, who, in the year 1768, was brought from Barbadoes to England by Mr. David Lisle, as his servant, and after having been reduced to a state of ill health by extreme hard usage at his master's lodgings in Wapping, was left to go whither he pleased. This man was supported by the kindness of benevolent persons till he had regained his health, when his master reclaimed him, seized him without a warrant, caused him to be conveyed as a prisoner to the Poultry Compter, and there sold him for £30. to John Kerr. Strong, who had been baptized, (and understood, as was at that time the general opinion, that by baptism he had acquired civil liberty,) sought protection from his godfathers, but without success. Another gentleman, however, to whom he sent for assistance, suc-

ceeded in having him brought before Sir Robert Kite, then Lord Mayor of London, who liberated him, on the ground of his having been seized without a warrant. After his liberation he was a second time taken by one *Captain Laird*, who had been employed to carry him to Jamaica, but the Captain quitted his hold upon him when threatened with prosecution for an assault. Further legal proceedings took place relative to Strong, which terminated in his final emancipation, chiefly through the indefatigable exertions of *one individual*.

The second case was that of *Hylas*, an African slave, in 1768, who prosecuted a person of the name of *Newton*, for having kidnapped his wife, and sent her to the West-Indies. *Newton* was sentenced, by the court, to bring the woman back, and to pay one shilling damages.

The third case was that of *Thomas Lewis*, an African slave, which occurred in the year 1770. *Lewis* was seized by his master, *R. Stapylton*, and two watermen, at Chelsea, in a dark night, and dragged to a boat lying in the Thames, where he was gagged, tied with a cord, and rowed down the river to a ship, on board of which he was put, for the purpose of being sold as a slave in Jamaica. The screams of *Lewis*, when first seized, were heard by the servants of *Mrs. Banks*, the mother of the celebrated *Sir Joseph Banks*, and they communicated the circumstance to their mistress. By her it was made known to the individual already mentioned, (who was then considered as the avowed friend of helpless Africans,) with an offer to defray the legal expenses of bringing the delinquents to justice. A habeas corpus was accordingly procured, and *Lewis* brought from Gravesend, where the vessel, on board of which he had embarked, was upon the point of sailing. *Stapylton* was prosecuted, and pleaded "that *Lewis* belonged to him as his slave." It was in answer to this plea,

plea, that Mr. Dunning, who was retained as counsel for Lewis, offered to maintain in any court of the kingdom, "that our laws admit of no such property." The jury were of the same opinion, crying out, "no property! no property!" and the case was so decided.

The last case was that of *James Somerset*, in the year 1772, which occasioned the discussion and final decision of the abstract question, "whether a slave on coming to England becomes free?" This question was solemnly argued for three days before the Judges, and decided in the affirmative.

Q. 9. Who was the individual, by whose indefatigable exertions these cases were brought to a favourable adjudication?

A. The late GRANVILLE SHARP, Esq. a private gentleman of exemplary benevolence, who occupied apartments in the house of his brother, a surgeon, in Wapping, and thus became acquainted with the case of Strong, in consequence of applications made at the house by that person for medical assistance. Mr. Sharp appears to have been excited to action by a feeling, natural to the mind of a benevolent man, of indignation at the extreme injustice with which Strong had been treated; who, when he was sick and unable to work, was abandoned and left to depend on the charity of strangers, but was claimed as the property of his former master so soon as he was restored again to health. It was Mr. Sharp who obtained access to Strong in the Poultry Compter; and accompanied him before the Lord Mayor, where he secured his release by charging Captain Laird with an assault for having seized him without a warrant. With a very small independent property Mr. Sharp ventured to oppose himself to all the power and influence of the West-India proprietors and planters, and gratuitously undertook the conduct of all the legal proceedings

proceedings against them, which led to the decision of this momentous question. He continued to be the friend and advocate of the natives of Africa till his decease, July 6th 1813, and was chiefly instrumental in the establishment of the African Institution.

Q. 10. What was the practice with respect to slavery in England before Mr. Sharp undertook to examine the subject? and what were the law authorities which supported it?

A. It was the practice to advertise natives of Africa, in the London newspapers, as runaway slaves, in the same manner as they are now advertised in the West-Indian newspapers, and to seize them wherever they could be found, and carry them by force on ship board. The authority which was chiefly relied upon in support of this practice, was the following strange opinion of York and Talbot, who were the Attorney and Solicitor-General in 1729. "We are of opinion that a slave by coming from
 " the West-Indies into Great Britain or Ireland, either
 " with or without his master, does not become free, and
 " that his master's right and property in him is not there-
 " by determined or varied, and that baptism doth not
 " bestow freedom on him, nor make any alteration in his
 " temporal condition in these kingdoms. We are also of
 " opinion, that the master may legally compel him to re-
 " turn again to the plantations."

Q. 11. Did York and Talbot quote or refer to any of the laws of England in support of their opinion?

A. Not any.

Q. 12. How did Mr. Sharp overcome that degree of sanction which the mere unsupported

ported dictum of men enjoying such high official stations as Attorney and Solicitor-General, would give to the practice of the planters ?

A. By investigating the subject more deeply, and adducing higher authorities on the side of justice and of the slaves ; particularly, that of Lord Chief Justice Holt, who had many years before determined that every slave on coming to England became free ; also by a learned and laborious inquiry into the principles of villenage in England, which he shewed to be not inconsistent with the personal rights of the villeins. Mr. Sharp also clearly established, by quotations and inductions from statute law, the proposition, “ that *every man* in England was free to “ sue for, and defend his rights,” and “ that in no case “ force could be used against any *man* in England, without a legal process,” leaving it to the opposite parties to shew, and the judges to determine, whether the person claimed as a slave was or was not a *man*. The work which contains this exposition of the subject, is entitled, “ A Representation of the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of “ tolerating Slavery in England.” It was widely circulated at the time, particularly among lawyers, who had thus an opportunity of refuting or acknowledging its doctrines. Mr. Dunning, when pleading the cause of Somerset, paid Mr. Sharp the compliment of holding up this book in the face of the court as the manual of the doctrine which he was then maintaining.

Q. 13. Did any persons before Mr. Sharp protest against the enslavement of the human species ?

A. Yes, many. It was discountenanced by Cardinal Ximenes early in the sixteenth century ; also by Charles

V. of Spain; by Pope Leo X., and by the Spanish Dominican Friars. In England, there is reason to believe that it would have been discountenanced by Queen Elizabeth, had the facts been known to her. Many early English writers have left on record their solemn protests against it; particularly Milton, in the following lines:

“ O execrable son, so to aspire
 “ Above his brethren, to himself assuming
 “ Authority usurpt from God, not given;
 “ He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
 “ Dominion absolute; that right we hold
 “ By his donation;—but man over men
 “ He made not lord, such title to himself
 “ Reserving, human left from human free.”

Also, *Morgan Godwyn*, in a little book entitled, “ The Negro’s and Indian’s Advocate,” published in 1680; the celebrated *Richard Baxter*, in his “ Christian Directory;” *Thomas Trygon*, in his “ Negro’s Complaint;” &c.; *John Woolman*, in “ Considerations on keeping Negroes;” *Anthony Benezet*, in his “ History of Guinea,” &c.; *Southern*, in his tragedy of “ Oronooko, 1696;” *Dr. Primatt*; *Hutcheson*, in his “ Moral Philosophy;” *Foster*, in his “ Discourses on Natural Religion, and Social Virtue;” *Sir Rich. Steele*, in his story of “ Inkle and Yarico;” *Atkins*, in his “ Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, and the West-Indies;” *Pope*, in his “ Essay on Man;” *Thomson*, in his “ Seasons,” together with *Richard Savage*, *Shenstone*, *Dyer*, and other poets; also *Wallis*, *Hughes*, the celebrated *Edmund Burke*, *Dr. Hayter*, *John Philmore*, *Malachi*, *Postlethwaite*, *Thomas Jeffery*, *Sterne*, and *Warburton*, in their prose writings. These writers preceded Mr. Sharp, but their efforts extended no further than enlightening the public mind, and impressing it with a feeling unfavourable to colonial slavery. To these may be added, *Rousseau* and *Baron Montesquieu*, celebrated French writers.

Q. 14. Who have been the most considerable writers against slavery since the time when Mr. Sharp undertook to investigate the subject?

A. Thomas Day, author of "*Sandford and Merton*," and the "*Dying Negro*," published in 1773; *Dr. Beattie*, in his "*Essay on Truth*;"* *Rev. John Wesley*, who had been in America, and observed the condition of the slaves, in his "*Thoughts on Slavery*;" *Dr. Adam Smith*, in his "*Theory of Moral Sentiments*," and "*Wealth of Nations*;" *Professor Miller*, in his "*Origin of Ranks*;" *Dr. Robertson*, in his "*Histories of America*," and of "*Charles the Vth.*;" the *Abbé Raynal*; *Dr. Paley*, in his "*Moral Philosophy*:"
Dr.

* This writer observes (page 462, edit. London, 1773), "That I may not be thought a blind admirer of antiquity, I would here crave the reader's indulgence for one short digression more, in order to put him in mind of an important error in morals, inferred from partial and inaccurate experience, by no less a person than Aristotle himself."

"He argues, 'that men of little genius, and great bodily strength, are by nature destined to serve, and those of better capacity, to command; that the natives of Greece, and of some other countries, being naturally superior in genius, have a natural right to empire; and that the rest of mankind, being naturally stupid, are destined to labour and slavery.'"

"This reasoning is now, alas! of little advantage to Aristotle's countrymen, who have for many ages been doomed to that slavery, which, in his judgment, nature had destined them to impose on others; and many nations, whom he would have consigned to everlasting stupidity, have shown themselves equal in genius to the most exalted of human kind. It would have been more worthy of Aristotle, to have inferred man's natural and universal right to liberty, from that natural and universal passion with which men desire it."

"He wanted, perhaps, to devise some excuse for servitude; a practice, which, to their eternal reproach, both Greeks and Romans tolerated, even in the days of their glory."

Dr. Porteus, Bishop of Chester, afterwards of London, who published a sermon on Negro slavery in 1776, which he had preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and became, from that time, an active and powerful friend of the oppressed Africans. In 1784, *Dr. Gregory*, also in his "Historical and Moral Essays," gave a circumstantial detail of the Slave Trade, in terms calculated to excite abhorrence of it. In the same year, *Gilbert Wakefield* preached a sermon at Richmond, in Surrey, in which he censured the conduct of Great Britain towards the Africans: this sermon was also published. In the same year, the Rev. *James Ramsay*, vicar of Teston, in Kent, became an able, zealous, and indefatigable patron of the African cause; in defence of which, he published several works*, written by him between 1784 and 1789. In 1785, a celebrated work of *M. Necker*, the French financier, made its appearance in the English language, and was found to contain some very forcible observations on the Slave Trade. In this year (1785), the first petition to Parliament, excepting one from the Society of Friends, was presented from the borough of *Bridgewater*, at the instance of the Rev. *G. White* and Mr. *John Chubb*, of that town. In 1786, *Capt. J. S. Smith*, of the royal navy, authorized the publication of a letter in vindication of the facts which had been stated by Mr. Ramsay, and disputed by the West-India planters. In the same year, the poems of the celebrated *William Cowper* made their appearance, containing

many

* Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of the African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies, 1784; An Inquiry into the Effects of Abolition, 1784; A Reply to Personal Invectives and Objections, 1785; A Letter to James Tobin, Esq., 1787; Objections to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with Answers; and An Examination of Harris's Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade, in 1788; An Address on the proposed Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1789.

many strong passages against the Slave Trade and slavery. THOMAS CLARKSON, M. A., has been eminently distinguished by his writings against slavery, as well as by his indefatigable labours in the cause of abolition, from the first agitation of the subject. His most considerable work is his "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," in 2 vols. 8vo., published in 1808; it is a faithful and affecting narrative, which ought to hold a conspicuous place in every Englishman's library. His other works are as follow :

"An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African, translated from a Latin Dissertation, which was honoured with the First Prize, in the University of Cambridge, for the Year 1785;" "An Essay on the Inapolicy of the African Slave Trade, 1788;" with several smaller productions.

To the names already mentioned must be added those of some peers of Parliament, particularly Lords *Grenville*, *Holland*, and *Teignmouth*; also *Sir Wm. Dolben*, the late *Sir P. Francis*, the late *Sir S. Romilly*, *Sir J. Mackintosh*, Messrs. *W. Wilberforce*, *W. Pitt*, *C. Fox*, *S. Whitbread*, *J. Stephen*, *C. Grant*, *H. Gurney*, *G. Harrison*, *Z. Ma-caulay*, *Alex. Falconbridge*, *H. Thornton*, *William Dyl-wyn*, *Sam. Bradburn*, *Capt. Majoribanks*, *Captain Layman*, *James Montgomery*, *Joseph Woods*, *N. Vansittart*, the Rev. *R. Boucher Nichols* (Dean of Middleham, in Yorkshire), the Rev. *John Newton*, the Rev. *J. Jamcison*, the Rev. *Abraham Booth*, the Rev. *T. Burgess*, afterwards *Bishop of St. David's*; Messrs. *Beaufoy*, *Josh. Hardcastle*, *W. Smith*, *T. F. Buxton*, *W. T. Money*, *H. Brougham*, with several others, who have advocated the cause of the oppressed Africans, either in pamphlets, or in speeches which have been afterwards printed, and circulated through the country.

H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester has especially distinguished himself by becoming the patron and president both of the African Institution and of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Q. 15. Have any distinct classes of society espoused the cause of the oppressed Africans?

A. Yes: the Society of Friends or Quakers. The members of this community have long been, individually and collectively, both in principle and practice, opposed to the enslavement of the African race. So far back as the year 1671, it was adverted to in an address delivered by the celebrated *George Fox* to the inhabitants of Barbadoes. He was supported in his views and conduct by his colleague, William Edmundson. The first public censure on the traffic, passed by the Society in its collective capacity, bears date in the year 1727, in which year it was resolved, "That the importing of negroes from their native country and relations, by friends, is not a commendable, nor allowed practice, and is therefore censured by this meeting." The same sentiment was more emphatically urged upon the attention of the members of this Society in 1756, and has been since that time very frequently reiterated in an improved form, as the subject has been better understood, and the evils of slavery more distinctly perceived. In 1761, it was resolved to disown any member of the Society of Friends, who should have any concern in the traffic in slaves. In 1783, the Society petitioned the English Parliament for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and it was the first public body which adopted that course. From that time till the present moment, its exertions for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and emancipation of the slaves, have been indefatigable. The Friends have, at a great expense, circulated information

tion upon the subject ; and it is now adverted to as often as occasion presents, at the yearly meetings of the Society. ,

Q. 16. Has any other public body taken a prominent part in this cause ?

A. Yes : the University of Cambridge frequently petitioned Parliament for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, until that object was obtained ; and has since distinguished itself by petitioning the House of Commons for the Abolition of Slavery.

Q. 17. Has the system of slavery had any apologists of distinguished name ?

A. Yes : Aristotle, already referred to (p. 9) ; also Mr. Hume, who, in his *Essay on National Characters*, observes, “ I am apt to suspect the Negroes, and, in general, all “ the other species of men (for there are four or five “ different kinds), to be naturally inferior to the whites. “ There *never was* a civilized nation of any other complexion than white ; *nor even any individual* eminent “ either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufacturers among them, *no* arts, no sciences. There are negro slaves dispersed all over Europe, of which *none* “ ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity.” This sentiment has been adopted by those who have considered themselves as having an indefeasible right in the slaves, and as bound by all means to support it ; but it has been ably refuted by Dr. Beattie, who has shewn Hume to be false in his facts ; and that, even were it otherwise, they would not support the inferences deduced from them.

SECTION II.

*OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.***Q. 1. WHAT is the African Slave-trade?**

A. A commerce or barter between Europeans and some of the inhabitants of the coast of Africa, of a singular nature. On the one part, the exports from Europe have consisted of weapons and implements of war, ardent spirits, and a very small quantity of the more valuable staple articles of European commerce. The returns for these exports have not been immediate into the countries from whence the exports proceeded, but into their West-Indian colonies, and have consisted almost entirely of the persons of the natives of Africa, chiefly of the youth and middle aged of both sexes, and sometimes children, taken by their countrymen, under various pretences, and sold to European purchasers, by whom they have been stowed or packed nearly as close as bale goods in the holds of ships, where multitudes of them have perished under the pressure of sickness, rage, and despair, in the passage from Africa to the West-Indies; and those who survived have been made to undergo the greatest cruelties and sufferings, in a state of absolute bondage.

Q. 2. When did the African Slave-trade originate?

A. It originated early in the sixteenth century, when piracy and buccaneering were prevalent on the high seas,
and

and when that which has since been designated the system of maritime law, was scarcely embodied. So early as the year 1503, the Portuguese, who had settlements in Africa, had begun to send slaves into the Spanish settlements in America, and in 1511, Ferdinand the Fifth permitted them to be carried in greater numbers. Bartholomew de las Casas, the Bishop of Chiapa, actuated, as was believed, by benevolent motives, promoted the traffic; but Cardinal Ximenes perceiving the injustice and probable ill effects of the scheme, discouraged it, and it experienced a partial interruption. The European nations appear, nevertheless, generally to have adopted the system before the close of that century.

Q. 3. By whom has the African Slave-trade been carried on?

A. By natives of nearly all the maritime states of Europe: England, France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, and by the United States of America.

Q. 4. By whom is it now carried on?

A. In Europe, by the French, Portuguese, and Spaniards; England and the other European States having relinquished it.

Q. 5. When did the English commence this traffic?

A. The first instance of an Englishman engaging in the traffic occurred in the year 1562, when Sir John Hawkins, in his first voyage to Africa and Hispaniola, carried slaves; and on his return deceived his mistress, Queen Elizabeth, in the report which he made of his proceedings. The Queen is stated to have expressed her concern, lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their free consent,
and

and declared, " that it would be detestable, and call down
 " the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers." Hall,
 the naval historian, has the following remarkable observations on this fact: " Here began the horrid practice of
 " forcing the Africans into slavery, an injustice and barbarity which, so sure as there is vengeance in Heaven
 " for the worst of crimes, will some time be the destruction of all who allow or encourage it."

Q. 6. When did the English relinquish the African Slave-trade?

A. The English Slave-trade was first checked in the year 1805, by an order of his Majesty in Council, which interdicted, except in certain cases, the importation of slaves into the British colonies. This prohibition was confirmed in May 1806, by an act of the British Parliament (the 46th of Geo. III., cap. 52), which further prohibits his Majesty's subjects from carrying on a traffic in slaves, for the supply of foreign colonies. In June following, the House of Commons came to certain resolutions for the more effectual prohibition of the African Slave-trade. On the 25th March 1807, the act (the 47th Geo. III. cap. 36) was passed, which prohibits the trade, under large penalties, and offers bounties to those who may be instrumental in detecting it. This was followed by the act of the 51st Geo. III., cap. 23, passed on the 14th May 1811, which declares the Slave-trade felony, and subjects those who may be concerned in it to be punished accordingly. By a more recent act of Parliament, 4 Geo. IV., cap. 17, the traffic in slaves has been declared to be an act of piracy, and all British subjects who may be concerned in it are liable to be dealt with accordingly.

Q. 7. What induced the English nation to relinquish the African Slave-trade?

A. On the part of the nation the motive was, no doubt,

a full conviction of its absolute impolicy and atrocious immorality

Q. 8. What were the more prominent features of impolicy and immorality which characterized it?

A. It was immoral on account of the fraud, violence, and cruelty which attended it: fraud and violence in the obtainment of its victims, and cruelty in every part of the treatment which they experienced, whether in Africa, in what was called the *middle passage*, on the high seas, or in the West-Indies. Its impolicy consisted in making the European name odious to every reflecting human being throughout the whole continent of Africa, for no better reason than that the West-India colonies might be stocked with an imported, instead of a native population; which population really added little to their agricultural productiveness, and nothing to their political strength, for the obvious reasons, that slaves, conscious of severe and oppressive treatment, would perform their duties unwillingly, and therefore not well, and could never be trusted with the defence of the country in which they were so treated.

Q. 9. What proofs were there, that the African Slave-trade was thus characterized by fraud, violence, and cruelty?

A. The concurrent testimony, solemnly given in the face of Parliament and the country, of many persons who had been, in some way or other connected with the traffic. The names of the witnesses who proved the atrocity of the Slave-trade are as follow:

George Baillie, Esq., <i>Merchant.</i>	Mr. John Bowman.
William Beverley, Esq.	John Clapham, Esq.
	Mr. Thomas Clapperson.

Henry Botham, Esq.	Mr. E. Claxton, <i>Surgeon</i> .
Capt. Cooke, of H. M.'s 89th Regt.	The Rev. John Newton, Rector of St. Mary Wool- noth, London.
Mr. Mark Cook, <i>Planter</i> .	The Rev. Robt. Boucher Nicholls, Dean of Mid- dleham, Yorkshire.
Henry Coor, Gent.	Mr. Isaac Parker.
Robert Crew, Esq.	Major-Gen. Rooke.
Henry H. Dalrymple, Esq.	The Rev. Thomas Gwynn Rees.
The Rev. Mr. Davies.	Hercules Ross, Esq.
Lieut. Baker Davison.	Capt. Robt. Ross.
Mr. Wm. Dove.	John Savage, Esq.
Mr. John Douglas.	Capt. Alex. Scott, R. N.
Mr. Wm. Duncan.	Lieut. J. Simpson, <i>Marines</i> .
Mr. Henry Ellison.	Capt. John S. Smith, R. N.
Mr. Alex. Falconbridge, <i>Surgeon</i> .	Lieut. R. Storey, R. N.
Mr. Wm. Fitzmaurice.	The Rev. James Stuart.
Mr. Robert Foster.	Mr. John Terry.
Mr. John Giles.	Mr. Mathew Terry.
Capt. Giles, of H. M.'s 29th Regt.	Capt. Thos. Bolton Thomp- son, R. N.
Capt. Hall, R. N.	Major-Gen. Tottenham.
Capt. John Astley Hall.	Mr. James Towne.
Dr. Harrison.	Dr. Thomas Trotter.
Capt. John Hills, R. N.	Charles Berns Wadstrom.
Anthony P. How, Esq.	Capt. Thos. Wilson, R. N.
Dr. Robt. Jackson.	Mr. Isaac Wilson, <i>Surgeon</i> .
Mr. Minian Jeffreys.	George Woodward, Esq.
James Kiernan, Esq.	Mr. Joseph Woodward.
Capt. Thos. Lloyd, R. N.	Capt. George Young, R. N.
Mr. George Millar, <i>Gunner</i> .	
Mr. James Morley, <i>Gunner</i> .	
Thomas Woolrich, Esq.	

Q. 10. How did these persons represent the African Slave-trade ?

A. They represented the slaves as being, for the most part, unoffending natives of Africa, of both sexes and all ages, who had been taken by marauders, from their peaceful homes, often in the night season, and sometimes after conflicts, in which many murders had been committed ; that the slaves so taken were generally sold to the European traders upon the coast ; that others were obtained from native inland chiefs, who were in a state of perpetual warfare, to which they were stimulated by the hope of a profit, to be derived from the sale of their prisoners, and that these native chiefs were from time to time supplied, by the European traders, with arms, ammunition, and ardent spirits, in barter for slaves ; that very few slaves were made such by any less exceptionable means ; that till the traders could embark them, the slaves were kept on the coast of Africa in miserable dungeons, or *slave-holes*, of which one was attached to every slave dealer's habitation ; that when the trading ships, called *slavers*, came to the coast for their cargoes, these unhappy beings were forced on board of ship, and stowed between decks, in a manner disgusting to humanity, and scarcely credible, on account of its monstrous cruelty ;* that on ship-board the slaves were confined by manacles and fetters, and occasionally subjected to the lash with great severity, or tormented with thumb-screws and other diabolical inventions, for no greater offence

* These circumstances compelled those who felt it to be their duty to convince the nation of the fact, to have plans and sections of a slave-ship taken by measurement, so as to show the precise manner of stowing her cargo of slaves. By printing and widely circulating this information, the public mind was effectually enlightened.

fence than for refusing to eat, or not consenting to dance, for exercise at the bidding of their oppressors ; that during the passage they frequently destroyed themselves, and that others died in consequence of the severity of the treatment they experienced ; that they sometimes manifested an insurrectionary disposition, which usually terminated in the death of some, and in acts of greater cruelty towards the remainder ; that on the arrival of the survivors in the West-Indies, they were disposed of to the highest bidder, by a mode which was correctly denominated "a scramble," which commonly occasioned the separation of near relatives, to the great grief of the individuals, and to the outraging of all the ties of consanguinity, affection and friendship ; and, finally, that transactions, such as are above described, were commonly known to take place, under the merely mercantile designation of the SLAVE-TRADE.

Q. 11. Were any other facts respecting this traffic elicited in evidence ?

A. Yes : that it was nearly as destructive to the European sailors who were employed in it, as to the natives of Africa,* who were the subjects of it ; that the sailors were often beaten most arbitrarily, and with great severity, and when in ill health were defrauded of their wages, and deserted in the West-Indies, where they lay about on the wharfs, houseless and friendless, sometimes till they died.

Q. 12. Were there any cases of extraordinary turpitude brought to light in the course of this inquiry ?

A. Yes : the case of the slave ship, *ZONG*, commanded by

* See the trial of Capt. Wm. Chapman, for the wilful murder of Robt. Dunn, Dec. 1807.

by one Capt. Collingwood, who, having a very sickly cargo of slaves, of which sixty had died, and others appeared likely to die, *threw, or compelled to jump alive into the sea, one hundred and thirty-two slaves, in order thereby to defraud the under-writers.* Those gentlemen, as might have been expected in such a case, withstood the demand made upon them, *as for loss of cargo by dangers of the sea,* charging that the loss accrued by *the captain's own act*; and brought the question to a trial in open court, in the course of which trial the fact of the murders was established upon oath.

Q. 13. Did this murderer suffer the condign punishment which the laws of Britain denounce against murder?

A. No! a statement of the fact with a copy of the trial, taken in short-hand, by order of Mr. Granville Sharp, was communicated to the Lords of the Admiralty, and to the Duke of Portland, who was then the principal Minister of State; but no notice was taken of it!!!

Q. 14. By whose means was the testimony, which was given before Parliament, respecting the atrocious character of the Slave-trade, elicited?

A. A principal agent, in procuring evidence and in soliciting patrons for this great cause, was Mr. Thos. Clarkson, already mentioned. That laborious and honourably distinguished individual spent much time in travelling in search of facts and witnesses to support the cause in Parliament, and to the present time he continues to be one of its most able and decided friends. He was assisted by all the early friends of the Africans, particularly by several members of the *Society of Friends*, who in July 1783, met together

“ to

“ to consider what steps they should take for the relief
 “ and liberation of the negro slaves; in the West-Indies,
 “ and for the discouragement of the Slave-trade on the
 “ coast of Africa :” for which purpose they formed a permanent association, the first of the kind in this country. This, in May 1787, merged into the committee “ for procuring such information and evidence, and publishing the same, as may tend to the abolition of the Slave-trade, and for directing the application of such monies as have been already, and may hereafter be collected for the above purpose.”

Q. 15. When was this evidence taken ?

A. In the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. It had been preceded by a body of evidence which was taken before a Committee of the Privy Council, appointed by his Majesty, in the year 1788, “ to take into consideration the present state of the African trade,” and which was afterwards communicated to the House of Commons.

Q. 16. Who were the earliest friends of the cause in Parliament ?

A. Among its earliest advocates in Parliament were Sir Charles Middleton (afterwards Lord Barham), WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq., and the Right Honourable William Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. The latter on the 9th of May 1788, submitted a Resolution to the House of Commons, “ That this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the Slave-trade, complained of in the said petitions, and what may be fit to be done therein.” The House, after some debate, agreed to this motion. Several distinguished members of the

the House delivered their sentiments on the occasion, particularly the late Right Honourable C. J. Fox, the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, Mr. S. Whitbread, Sir William Dolben, Sir James Johnson, a planter, Mr. Bastard, Mr. L. Smith, Mr. Grigby, and Mr. Pelham, who were all favourable to the motion. Lord Penrhyn and Mr Gascoyne, the members for Liverpool, admitted the evils of the trade, although their constituents considered themselves as having a great interest in its continuance.

Q. 17. Did the Parliament in the session of 1788, proceed no further than adopting the resolution proposed by Mr. Pitt?

A. Yes: Sir William Dolben having expressed himself particularly anxious to apply an immediate remedy to the crying evils of the middle passage, a short regulating act was brought in, and passed the House of Commons. It also passed the House of Lords, after considerable opposition, especially from the then Lord Chancellor, Thurlow. Upon the whole, the cause of the oppressed Africans appeared to gain strength during the parliamentary session of the year 1788.

Q. 18. From this time till the passing of the first Abolition Act, in 1806, did the subject sleep in Parliament?

A. No: it did not. Those who were friendly to the cause, and cherished a desire to see the Slave-trade abolished, continued indefatigable in their exertions to procure information, with a view to enlighten the members of both houses; and on the 12th of May 1789, Mr. Wilberforce laid upon the table of the House of Commons, twelve propositions, deduced from the report of the Committee of Privy Council, stating the number of slaves annually brought

brought from the African shores; the means by which they were procured; their treatment; the average loss of British seamen, and of slaves, in the transit voyage, or as it was more commonly called, *the middle passage*; also, the average mortality of newly imported slaves, in the West-Indies. These propositions Mr. Wilberforce prefaced by a brilliant address to the House, which obtained for him its plaudits, and he was supported by Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Grenville, and other distinguished members; but the opponents of the cause, among whom were to be reckoned Aldermen Watson, Sawbridge, and Newnham, three of the members for the city of London, refused to be satisfied with the facts contained in the evidence then before them, and required further testimony. To this the House acceded, and the examination of witnesses commenced at the bar of the House. The question was, in consequence, deferred till the following session; but before the Parliament adjourned, Sir William Dolben obtained the renewal of his regulating act.

In 1790, the examination of witnesses against the Slave-trade proceeded in the House of Commons, but not without opposition.

In 1791, it was resumed and completed, and on the 18th of April a motion was made by Mr. Wilberforce on the evidence taken, for preventing all further importation of slaves from Africa, which, after a long and warm debate, was lost by a majority of seventy-five votes, the numbers being, for it, eighty-eight; against it, one hundred and sixty-three.

On the 2d of April 1792, Mr. Wilberforce moved the House, that "the trade carried on by British subjects, for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, ought to be abolished." This proposition, after a long discussion, was agreed to by the House of Commons, with
a limitation

a limitation that the abolition should not take place till 1796 ; but when it was brought up to the House of Lords, the discussion of it was postponed till the following sessions, and their Lordships determined, in the interim, to receive further evidence.

Q. 19. Did any thing remarkable occur in the course of the Parliamentary discussions of the year 1792 ?

A. Yes : the opponents took new and very extraordinary grounds ; they charged upon the Abolitionists the guilt of a murderous insurrection which had then recently taken place in St. Domingo, for which there was not the least reason, unless the mere circumstance of an insurrection in St. Domingo and discussions respecting slavery, in England, happening in the same year, might be considered as justifying such a charge. Mr. Wilberforce, also, in his introductory speech in Parliament, this session, stated some dreadful instances of mortality, which had happened on board of slave ships, during the middle passage, particularly that one ship, with a cargo of 602 slaves, had lost 155 ; another, with 450 slaves, 200 ; another, with 466 slaves, 73 ; and another, with 546 slaves, 158 ; and that out of the survivors in the four ships, after the voyage was completed, two hundred and twenty had died on shore, in the West-Indies. The discussions relative to the Slave-trade were, moreover, conducted in this session with less command of temper than they had previously been on the part of the friends of that trade, who began to distinguish their opponents by the epithets *fānatic*, *saint*, *speculatist*, or *abolitionist*. The latter is now the ordinary designation by which the friends to negro emancipation are known.

Q. 20. Was not the question respecting the Slave-trade,

trade, in consequence of these discouragements, allowed to rest after the session of 1792?

A. No: in 1793 a motion was made by Mr. Wilberforce, in the House of Commons, to renew the resolution of the preceding year, which motion was lost; as was another for the abolition of a foreign Slave-trade, then carried on by British capitalists upon British bottoms. The proceedings in the House of Lords were also remarkable this year, for the opposition given in that house to the cause of the Africans; but some progress was made there in the hearing of evidence.

In the year 1794, the motion to abolish the foreign Slave-trade was renewed by Mr. Wilberforce, in the House of Commons, where it was carried, but was afterwards negatived by the House of Lords, who, nevertheless, made some small progress in the hearing of evidence.

In February 1795, Mr. Wilberforce moved in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the Slave-trade. This motion had then become necessary, if, according to the former resolution of that House, already mentioned, the Slave-trade was to cease in 1796. The proposition was, nevertheless, rejected.

In the years 1796 and 1797, a temporary success attended the exertions of Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons, but it issued in disappointment; the enemies of abolition having, in the latter year, by a recommendation that the Colonial Assemblies would adopt measures of amelioration, parried the blow aimed at their system, by the Abolitionists. This scheme of *amelioration* was favourably received by Parliament, where it checked discussion, although it produced no good results in the West-Indies.

In 1798, Mr. Wilberforce attempted to renew his former bill for the abolition of the Slave-trade within a limited time.

time, but was again defeated, although by a small majority, in a thin House ; the numbers being, for the question, 83; against it, 87.

Q. 21. Did Mr. Wilberforce and the friends of the Africans, still persevere after such repeated disappointments ?

A. Yes: in the following session, 1799, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion in the House of Commons for the abolition of the Slave-trade, but it was again lost. Another measure, proposed by Mr. Henry Thornton, for limiting the trade to certain districts of the African coast, had scarcely a better fate ; the bill passed the House of Commons, but after much discussion, was lost in the Lords. The years 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803 were therefore allowed to pass without any effort being made in Parliament to abolish this odious traffic ; but in the year 1804 Mr. Wilberforce revived the subject, and after a very interesting debate, obtained, by a large majority of 124 votes against 49, leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the Slave-trade. The bill was, nevertheless, when brought in, opposed in every stage of it, but it finally passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the House of Lords. There, in consequence of the advanced state of the session, the consideration of it was postponed till the following year.

It was of course revived early in the session of 1805, and met, as usual, with decided friends and strongly excited adversaries. At length the question upon it was *lost* in the House of Commons, owing, as was believed, to the excessive confidence of its friends.

Q. 22. Was any new ground of argument taken in Parliament in the session of 1805 ?

A. Yes: among the arguments which were this year
E 2
brought

brought forward against the measure of abolition, was one collected from the state of society in the East-Indies, with which West-India slavery was compared by its defenders. This argument was ably refuted by Mr. Hudleston, who, from his personal knowledge of India, described the state of the natives as altogether dissimilar to that of a West-India slave. "The Hindoo, it is true," observed Mr. Hudleston, "is a peasant; and his industry is devoted to a European lord. But in another view he is, in his own sincere belief, more than his Lord's superior, for he conceives of him as of the very lowest cast. No earthly consideration would prevail on him to eat from the same plate. He would not suffer his son to marry the daughter of his master, even if she could bring him the West-Indies for her portion. Sir, the Hindoo peasant drinks from his native well, and however scanty his meal, he receives it from the hand of the person most dear to him; his labours are for her and for their mutual offspring, and the thought of returning to them cheers him in his course and lightens every toil. His daily task being finished, he reposes with his family. No retrospect to former days disturbs his slumbers; nor dreams that cause him to awake to agony; no cries of despair appal him at the dawn of day; no barbarous sounds of cracking whips remind him, that, with the form and image and feelings of a man, his destiny is worse than that of the beast of the field. Let the advocates for the bloody traffic state what they have to set off on their side of the question, against the comforts and independence of the man with whom they compare the slave."

Q. 23. What became of the question respecting the Slave-trade after the session of 1805?

A. In May, 1806, and but a short time after the
decease

decease of Mr. Pitt, who had been one of its warm advocates, the bill for the abolition of the foreign Slave-trade, and limitation of the domestic Slave-trade (46 Geo. III. cap. 52), passed both Houses of Parliament, and obtained the Royal sanction. This was the first act of abolition adopted by the British Legislature, after a protracted discussion, and an arduous struggle in Parliament of more than seventeen years. The House also resolved upon the abolition of the domestic Slave-trade, and addressed the King to negotiate with foreign Powers. From this moment the victory has been considered as won, although the conflict did not terminate till the passing of the Abolition Act (47 Geo. III. cap. 36, 25th March 1807), or perhaps till the passing of the Slave-trade Felony Act (51 Geo. III. cap. 23), in 1811.

Q. 24. Has the conflict relative to the African Slave-trade yet terminated?

A. Perhaps not finally. Great Britain still sustains a heavy annual expense for the prevention of a piratical traffic in slaves, from which there is but little reason to expect that she can be relieved so long as slavery itself continues to exist in the West-Indies: and hence the possibility of renewed attempts, in some indirect way, to legalize the Slave-trade. There is still a struggle between the traffic in slaves and its opposers.

Q. 25. During the discussions in Parliament, relative to the Slave-trade, did any persons give testimony of a contrary description to that of the friends of abolition?

A. Yes: Several persons, many of whom conceived themselves to have an interest in the continuance of the traffic; and some of these individuals petitioned Parliament

ment against any interference with the trade, representing the slaves as *well treated, healthy, and happy*. Their evidence, however, for the most part, consisted of general assertion, and was opposed to fact. The best apology which can be offered for testimony so much at variance with truths, established beyond all possibility of successful contradiction or disproof, is, that many of the persons who gave this testimony, although connected with the West-Indies, had not themselves had the means of knowing the atrocities committed in the trade, or in the colonies, and that others were blinded by habit or interest, so as not to be able to discern the evils of the traffic.

Q. 26. During this protracted discussion, what causes operated to prevent the success of the abolitionists?

A. Private interests, and a blind attachment to established practices.

Q. 27. Were there not some plausible arguments employed in defence of the Slave-trade?

A. Yes: and some of them are the same as are now employed in defence of African slavery, they were, 1. That the enslavement of the Africans had a *Divine sanction*. 2. *That they were mentally and morally inferior to the rest of mankind*. 3. *That it was a measure both politically and commercially expedient*; and, above all, *That it was an act of mercy to enslave the Africans, because they were liable to be murdered in their own country, where human sacrifices were reported to be common.**

Q.

* These arguments may be seen clearly stated and answered in Mr. Granville Sharp's "Just Limitation of Slavery, 1776;" also in a sermon, preached by the Rev. Richard Watson, before the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, April 28, 1824.—Butterworth, Fleet street.

Q. 28. To the argument founded on an alleged Divine sanction, what answer was given?

A. That it could not be proved that the inhabitants of the continent of Africa were, as this argument supposed them to be, descended from Canaan, or any other individual who laboured under the Divine malediction; that on the contrary, the extent of the curse referred to, had been determined by its fulfilment, which was already recorded in history; that by the promulgation of the gospel, all the curses of the Old Testament were abrogated; and that the New Testament itself entailed only one (that on the Jews), the extent and termination of which it also foretold; that the state of slavery was unfriendly to the reception of Christianity, and therefore stood opposed to the fulfilment of the prophetic declarations, that "the Sun of Righteousness shall arise upon all nations," and "the earth be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea, &c."

Q. 29. To the argument founded on an alleged mental inferiority of the African race, what answer was given?

A. That neither could this alleged inferiority be proved; but that the contrary might be easily substantiated, by a reference to instances of native Africans, who have distinguished themselves in sciences, arts, and arms, and in every employment which required intellectual energy. The following are a few instances of African negroes who have been mathematicians, physicians, divines, philosophers, linguists, poets, generals, and merchants, all eminent in their attainments, energetic in enterprise, and honourable in character. *Hannibal*, a colonel in the Russian artillery, and *Lislet*, of the Isle of France (the latter

ter of whom was named a corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, on account of his meteorological observations) prove the capacity of the negroes for the mathematical and physical sciences. *Fuller*, of Maryland, was an extraordinary example of quickness of reckoning. Being asked in a company, for the purpose of trying his powers, How many seconds a person had lived, who was seventy years and some months old? he gave the answer in a minute and a half. On reckoning it up after him, a different result was obtained; "Have you not forgot the leap year?" asks the negro. This omission was supplied, and the number then agreed with his answer. *Jac. Eliza John Capitem*, who was bought by a slave-dealer, when eight years old, studied theology at Leyden, and published several sermons and poems. His "*Dissertatio de Servitute Libertati Christianæ non contraria*," that is *Treatise of a Servitude (or Bondage) not contrary to Christian Liberty*, went through four editions, very quickly. He was ordained in Amsterdam, and went to Elmina, on the Gold Coast, where it is believed he was either murdered, or consented to return to the practices and opinions of his countrymen. In 1734, *A. W. Arno*, an African from the Coast of Guinea, took the degree of Doctor in Philosophy, at the University of Wittenberg. *Friedig*, in Vienna, an African negro, was an excellent performer, both on the violin and violincello; he was also a capital draftsman, and had made a very successful painting of himself. *Ignatius Sanche*, who was born on board a slave ship, on its passage from Guinea to the West-Indies, and *Gustavus Vasa*, of the kingdom of Benin, both distinguished themselves as literary characters, in this country. *Toussaint Louverture*, the negro General, and *Christophe*, the negro Emperor of Hayti, and his admiral, acquitted themselves with sufficient energy in war, to achieve the liberties of their

their country, which is still governed by persons of African descent. Many other instances might be produced to prove the fair pretension of negroes to rank with any of the human race, as intellectual beings or moral agents: but it is presumed enough has been stated for the satisfaction of the candid and unprejudiced.

This argument has been so often and so fully answered, and is capable of being refuted in so many ways, that it would not have been thought necessary to bestow on it so much attention at the present time, had not an attempt recently been made by some modern philosophers of eminence to derive to it new support from the theory of craniology.

Q.30. To the argument founded on political and commercial expediency, what answer was given?

A. By some it was merely observed, that that which was morally wrong, could not be politically or commercially right. By others, the political and commercial expediency of the Slave-trade was denied. It was contended, that it could not be politically expedient to retard the advancement of Africa, by keeping up the traffic in her sons, instead of establishing a peaceable connexion with her, which might have long since led to extensive and most beneficial colonization; and that no advantages gained in the West-India Islands, could countervail the loss of character and legitimate influence in Africa, which Britain suffered by the Slave-trade. It was also contended, that more commercial advantage, by the sale of staples and employment of shipping, might have been derived to this country from a free and legitimate trade with the vast continent of Africa, such as had been established with Asia, than had ever flowed from our West-India colonies;

nies ; and further, it was observed, that the whole expenditure of staple or other commodities, with wear and tear of shipping, and loss of sailors' lives, which Britain suffered in her commerce with Africa, was, in truth, an expenditure without any equivalent return ; because its effect being merely to keep up the population of our West-India colonies, it was incurred for an object which could, under a better system, be accomplished by a more simple and ordinary process. The conclusion from all these premises was, that the Slave-trade was politically and commercially inexpedient.

Q. 31. Has any experiment been made for the purpose of ascertaining the political and commercial importance of a more legitimate intercourse with Africa ?

A. Yes : the settlement of *Sierra Leone*, on the coast of Africa, may be considered in the light of an experiment. That infant establishment, formed in the year 1792, has had to encounter both foreign and domestic warfare ; and disadvantages arising solely from the existence of a traffic in slaves, upon a long line of coast about her : she has, nevertheless, rendered great service to the cause of humanity ; and at this moment contains a large body of African freemen, in a civilized state, and in the prosecution of honourable, useful industry. *Sierra Leone* may now be considered as the germ of a colony that must ultimately add to the power and wealth of the parent state, if upheld on the legitimate commercial and colonial principles of mutual advantage.

Q. 32. To the argument derived from human sacrifices in Africa, what answer was given ?

A. That even supposing such sacrifices to be, as was asserted, common, there could be little doubt that they were in Africa, as they were known to have been in
Britain

Britain and other places, where they formerly prevailed, of a religious origin ; their object being to placate some demon, who was dreaded for the mischief he was supposed capable of doing ; that therefore it was altogether unlikely that the periodical abstraction of a portion of the population of Africa, kidnapped for the purpose of meeting the demands of the slave market, would be allowed, for one moment, to interfere with the requirements of such a sanguinary superstition, whenever the occasions for such sacrifices arose.

Q. 33. Did Great Britain, when she had determined to abolish the Slave-trade, employ any means to induce other nations to follow her example ?

A. Yes: in concluding the treaty of Paris, in 1814, she and the Allies negotiated with France for its abolition ; and agreed that the consent of the principal European Powers to the relinquishment of the Slave-trade should be immediately sought, and, if possible, obtained. Conformably with this stipulation, the representatives of those Powers, assembled in Congress at Vienna, on the 8th of February 1815, published a declaration, in which they stated that “ having taken into consideration that the
“ commerce, known by the name of the Slave-trade, has
“ been considered, by just and enlightened men of all
“ ages, as repugnant to the principles of humanity and
“ universal morality ; that the particular circumstances
“ from which this commerce has originated, and the diffi-
“ culty of abruptly arresting its progress, may have con-
“ cealed, to a certain extent, what was odious in its con-
“ tinuance ; but that at length the public voice, in all civi-
“ lized countries, calls aloud for its prompt suppression ;
“ that since the character and the details of this traffic

“ have been better known, and the evils of every kind
 “ which attend it, completely developed, several Euro-
 “ pean governments have virtually come to the resolu-
 “ tion of putting a stop to it; and that, successively, all
 “ the powers possessing colonies in different parts of the
 “ world, have acknowledged, either by legislative acts, or
 “ by treaty, or other formal engagements, the duty and
 “ necessity of abolishing it.” They accordingly declared,
 in the face of Europe, that, “ considering the universal
 “ abolition of the Slave-trade as a measure particularly
 “ worthy of their attention, conformable to the spirit of
 “ the times, and to the generous principles of their august
 “ sovereigns, they are animated with the sincere desire of
 “ concurring in the most prompt and effectual execution
 “ of this measure, by all the means at their disposal; and
 “ of acting in the employment of these means with all the
 “ zeal and perseverance which is due to so great and noble
 “ a cause.”

This declaration was signed by the ambassadors of Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal.

With respect to Portugal, Great Britain agreed to pay to her the sum of £300,000, as an indemnity for her previous losses, occasioned by the interruption of her traffic in slaves. France, moreover, confirmed her engagement to abolish the traffic by a separate article, in a treaty agreed to in November of the same year; and Sweden, in 1824, bound herself by treaty to concur in the suppression of the Slave-trade.

Q. 34. Have these engagements been strictly fulfilled?

A. Neither the French, Spaniards, or Portuguese have yet fulfilled their engagements for the abolition of the Slave-trade,

trade, or acted up to the spirit of the declaration signed by their ambassadors at Vienna.

Q. 25. Has Great Britain remonstrated with them on account of their non-fulfilment of treaties ; and especially with the Portuguese, to whom she paid so large a sum of money for the attainment of this object ?

A. There have been considerable discussions upon this subject between Great Britain and those Powers ; and they have manifested great unwillingness to fulfil their engagements. But every session of Parliament, since the year 1815, has produced some evidence of a progress towards a better state of feeling among the inhabitants of the continent of Europe respecting African slavery : yet it ought not to be concealed that the *Portuguese*, in spite of treaties and remonstrances, still carry on a traffic in slaves, which is awfully destructive of human life ; and that the *French* retain their fondness for this odious traffic, and practice it in all quarters of the globe, to the discredit of their nation.

Q. 36. Has France taken no steps towards its abolition ?

A. Yes. Under the Conventional Assembly, in Feb. 1794, she abolished slavery. General Buonaparte also, notwithstanding the French had endeavoured to repossess themselves of their revolted slave colony on St. Domingo, and to re-establish slavery there, did, upon his return from Elba, abolish the Slave-trade throughout the French dominions, by an edict couched in very few words. The trade revived upon the return of the Bourbons,* who cannot

* Mr. Wilberforce, in a speech delivered at the Anniversary of the African Institution in 1823, made some very pointed observations on the

cannot be considered free from blame for having permitted its revival. A society called, "La Société de la Morale Chrétienne," has been formed at Paris within the last three or four years, which, among other things, has recognised the abolition of slavery.

Q. 37. What claims had the French on the Island of St. Domingo?

A. The Island of St. Domingo, now the Republic of Hayti, was formerly the joint property of the French and Spaniards; who had acquired their rights in it, as such rights used to be acquired, by taking possession of the land, and stocking it with a slave population. But in August 1791, the slaves on St. Domingo achieved their own freedom by that successful insurrection against their white masters, the guilt of which was charged upon English Abolitionists. The inhabitants of St. Domingo have since, as might naturally be expected, experienced some revolutionary struggles; but although they are in the very midst of slave colonies belonging to several European nations, they are at this moment an independent negro state under a republican government, over which a native mulatto chief presides; and are said to be daily increasing in population and improving in power, in intellectual cultivation and all the arts of civilization. Boyer, the President of the Republic of Hayti, has thrice, viz. in 1814, 1816, and 1823, offered to compensate the former proprietors for their losses; but France wishes to stipulate for sovereignty; and to this the Haytians will not consent.

Q. 38. Did not the Blacks on St. Domingo, when they

the conduct of the present reigning family; who, after having been restored to the throne of their ancestors by a providential interference, not a little remarkable, requited their obligation to Divine Providence, *by permitting the revival of the Slave-trade.*

they acquired liberty in 1791, murder nearly all the Whites; and was not their conduct upon that occasion marked by great cruelty and atrocity?

A. It was so reported by deputies sent by the whites to the French National Assembly; but to do justice to the negroes, it is necessary to advert briefly to some other circumstances in the history of the transactions referred to. When the French revolution, which decreed equality of rights to all citizens, had taken place, the free people of colour on St. Domingo, many of whom were persons of large property and liberal education, petitioned the National Assembly, that they might enjoy the same political privileges as the Whites there. The subject of the petition was not discussed till the 8th of March, 1790, when the Assembly agreed upon a decree concerning it. The decree, however, was worded so ambiguously, that the two parties on St. Domingo, the *Whites* and the *people of colour*, interpreted it each of them in its own favour. This difference of interpretation gave rise to animosities between them; and these animosities were augmented by political party spirit, according as they were royalists or partizans of the French revolution; so that disturbances took place, and blood was shed.

In the year 1791, the *people of colour* obtained from the Assembly another decree in explicit terms, which determined that they were entitled to all the rights of citizenship in all the French islands, *provided they were born of free parents on both sides*. The news of this decree had no sooner arrived at the Cape, than it produced an indignation almost amounting to phrenzy among the *Whites*. They directly trampled under foot the national cockade; and were with difficulty prevented from seizing all the French

French merchant ships in the roads. After this the two parties armed against each other ; camps were formed, and, it is to be deplored, that terrible massacres and conflagrations followed ; the reports of which, when brought to the mother country, were so terrible, that the Assembly in the same year abolished the decree in favour of the free people of colour.

When the news of this last act reached St. Domingo, it occasioned as much irritation among the *people of colour* as the news of the passing of it had produced among the Whites ; and hostilities were renewed between them, so that new battles, massacres, and burnings took place, which compelled the Conventional Assembly to retrace their steps. They sent out commissioners ; who, after several attempts at pacification, emancipated such Blacks as were willing to range themselves under the banners of the Republic ; and in 1794, the National Convention emancipated the whole remaining slave population, who immediately betook themselves to courses of industry. In these transactions it must be evident, that the slaves in the first instance were the mere engines employed by their owners, by whom they were hurried on to excesses. If afterwards they found a cause properly their own, and in any instance prosecuted it with cruelty, it should be recollected that they had not been educated in the principles of civilized society. Their whole experience in the colonies had been limited to the contemplation of but one motive for human action, and that motive was fear. They had witnessed great excesses of cruelty practised by white men upon blacks ; and when the ebullitions of their own rage and resentment for injuries long endured had burst all the restraints of law, and they knew that the foe they had raised up would, if triumphant, resort to still more execrable cruelties than he had formerly practised ; what wonder

wonder that, in the use of power, they should be implacably cruel, thus following the example of their white oppressors, who certainly were not less so. The very worst part of the conduct of the blacks on St. Domingo, in their struggle for their liberties, is many shades less dark and diabolical than that of the cool calculating Slave-trader, who navigates his vessel, freighted with fetters, manacles, thumb-screws, and scourges, to the shores of an unoffending people, and after drawing numbers of them into his toils by employing the most satanic arts, sacrifices the lives of nearly the half of his cargo of human beings, that he may secure the others in a distant region, in a state of irremediable bondage. The outrages of men, struggling to regain their lost liberties, have too much of virtue in them to admit of any comparison with such transactions as those of the Slave-trader.

Q. 39. Are not the black inhabitants of St. Domingo, Roman Catholics? and are they not intolerant to Protestants?

A. The majority of them profess to be Roman Catholics, having first become acquainted with that system of christianity; yet they have tolerated English Protestants, particularly the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries. Very recently, however, President Boyer has forbidden proselytism by those Missionaries, on the ground that it would disturb the peace of the country. Considering their relative position towards the colonies of their Protestant neighbours, it is less surprising that they should have done so than that they should ever have tolerated Protestants. It will, perhaps, be acknowledged, that the conduct of British Protestant colonists has not been such towards men of their complexion, as greatly to prepossess them in favour of the reformed religion. Under these circumstances, it admits of great doubt whether the blacks on St. Domingo have

done any thing which entitles them, in the judgment of a candid Englishman, to be considered as persecutors.

Q. 40. Must not St. Domingo, in its present circumstances, be a dangerous neighbour to Slave colonies, by keeping the enviable condition of free-men constantly before the eyes of their Slaves?

A. Doubtless it must be so, and therefore the British and other colonists, and all the friends of negro slavery look with an evil eye upon St. Domingo, and calumniate it. France in particular, notwithstanding that she sustained great loss and expense in her attempt to regain her part of the island by force, is generally believed to contemplate a renewal of that attempt. But from the improved state of society, the nature of the country, and the increase of population on St. Domingo, any attempt to conquer the island, will, in all human probability, prove unsuccessful and disastrous to those who make it, and every friend to justice and humanity will wish that it may be so.

Q. 41. Has any part of America relinquished the Slave-trade?

A. Yes: North America.

Q. 42. When?

A. The United States abolished their foreign Slave-trade in 1794; when all the States, except one, also abolished the domestic traffic.* In 1807 the Slave-trade was abolished

* Notwithstanding the abolition of the traffic by the American Government, a revolting internal Slave-trade still exists, by which the members of slave families are separated and sold into distant parts of the Union, and whole families of free blacks are kidnapped, driven to a distance, and sold as slaves. This is a but too natural consequence of the perpetuation of slavery in any country.

lished throughout the United States, by an act of Congress. It was declared piracy by a convention between America and Great Britain in May 1824; but this agreement has not yet been formally ratified by the Americans. Their intention to abolish the traffic universally, is nevertheless unquestionable, having been explicitly avowed by the Executive Government of the United States, and by acts of Congress. Mexico abolished the Slave-trade by a law passed July 13, 1824.

Q. 43. What other countries besides North America have relinquished the Slave-trade, since the treaty of Vienna?

A. Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Columbia, in South America.

Q. 44. Have any institutions been formed in England for the avowed purpose of promoting the universal abolition of the Slave-trade, and a more legitimate connexion with Africa?

A. Yes: the AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

Q. 45. When was it formed and by whom?

A. In 1807, by a voluntary association of more than sixty noblemen and gentlemen of the first respectability, acting as a temporary committee; who, having matured their design, called a public meeting, and formed the Institution on the 15th July 1807.

Q. 46. How do they promote their object?

A. By collecting information relative to the Slave-trade of foreign nations, and by promoting discussion, to which their valuable annual reports have essentially contributed. Those reports contain the best manual of well-authenticated modern facts respecting the Slave-trade, which can

be found in any publication, and ought to be in the hands of all general readers.

Q. 47. Has there been any other institution or society formed with a view to the same object?

A. Yes; the SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, which obtained a charter of incorporation in 1791. By it the colony at Sierra Leone (already mentioned, p. 34,) was first established. It originated in the voluntary association of a number of gentlemen who subscribed a few thousand pounds, as a fund for assisting some hundreds of destitute blacks, that had been collected in London and sent out by Mr. Granville Sharp and others in 1787 to settle at Sierra Leone. Government very liberally seconded their views, by taking upon itself the expense of transporting the blacks thither, and of supplying them with necessaries during the first six or eight months. This Company afterwards procured from some native chiefs the cession of a considerable district of land, in which a town, called *Freetown*, was erected at the mouth of the Sierra Leone river, and the neighbouring country was marked into allotments for cultivation. The expense which attended the establishment of this colony, amounted to upwards of £83,000, a noble tribute, on the part of those who paid it, to the cause of national justice and humanity. The colony is now under the authority of a Governor, appointed by the Crown, who resides at Sierra Leone; but in all its civil and political institutions it assimilates to the constitution of this country. About the year 1822 the British settlements on the Gold Coast, including Cape Coast Castle, which had been previously managed by the Royal African Company, were placed under the Governor of Sierra Leone; who then became and is now the representative of the British Government in Western Africa.

SECTION III.

OF SLAVERY IN THE WEST-INDIES.

Q. 1. WHAT are the principal characteristic features of that peculiar kind of slavery which prevails in the West-Indies?

A. It is a bondage which leaves the slave in possession of scarcely any power of self-determination, with respect to the functions, duties, or enjoyments of life; it ranks him as the property of his master, in the light of mere *chattels*; it, in fact, deprives him of all moral agency, yet loads him with responsibility; it affords him scarcely any light or instruction to guide his footsteps, yet visits with merciless severity any deviation from the path in which his owner wishes him to tread; it does not receive his testimony on oath, in any case where a white man is concerned; it leaves him, as to the amount of his labours, and as to the return of food, clothing, and every other means of support, wholly at his master's *discretion*, which is often expressed through a resident attorney, overseer, or driver, acting as and for the master, in his absence; thus it frequently exposes the slave to sufferings which "Mercy, with a bleeding heart, weeps, when she sees inflicted on a beast;" but makes no provision for his mental or moral culture, and has been known greatly to discourage them.

Mr.

Mr. Stephen, in a volume deserving of the most extensive perusal, has recently delineated “ *The Slavery of the West-India Colonies, as it exists both in Law and Practice.*” * In this volume he establishes, unanswerably, the following propositions :

That the colonial slave cannot be a party to any civil suit, either as plaintiff or defendant ; nor can he be received as informant or prosecutor, by any court or magistrate, against a person of free condition ;

That what is called the legal protection of slaves, either by action, or suit of the master against other persons of free condition, or against strangers, by indictments or other prosecution, at the suit of the Crown, is extremely limited ; and that there are many species of wrongs, for which it is not pretended that a slave, when injured by a free stranger, can have any redress ;

That the rejection of the slave's testimony, exposes him to remediless wrongs ; and that he is, at the same time, bereft, by law, of the right of self-defence ;

That the other ordinary benefits of civil society are withheld from the negro slave ; their education shamefully neglected, particularly their Christian instruction ; and that the efforts of European piety and charity to remedy this evil, have not any where been aided by the colonial legislators, and in some islands have been actively opposed by them ;

That the West-India slave is not only subject to all the criminal laws, by which the offences of free persons are punished, but to an additional penal code of great extent and severity, made for the government of men of his condition alone ;

That slaves are prosecuted and tried upon criminal accusations,

* Published by Joseph Butterworth and Son, 1824.

sations, in a manner grossly inconsistent with the humanity of English laws, and highly dangerous to the safety of the innocent ;

That the slave, when prosecuted as a criminal, is deprived of that protection which he might naturally derive, from his master's regard to self-interest, and is sometimes even punished for his master's crimes.

Q. 2. Were there any reasons assigned for the original formation of colonies of slaves in the West-Indies ?

A. Yes.

Q. 3. What were they ?

A. That it would afford the opportunity of converting the Africans to Christianity, and that their constitutions were peculiarly fitted for the climate which those of Europeans were not. These reasons were plausible ; and, in attempting to accomplish the object stated in the first, the original slave-holders, who were of the Romish Church, appear to have excelled many of their Protestant successors, in the attention they gave to the intellectual wants of the negroes. Commercial advantage has been, and is still acknowledged to be, another reason ; and there can be little doubt that it has always been the great operative cause of the maintenance of this system, and of the oppression of the Africans : although it has happened in this, as in many other cases of injustice, that the oppressor mistakes his true interest. The Slave-trade was persevered in because the planters were of opinion, that it was "*cheaper to buy than to breed.*" And slavery is upheld, under the erroneous notion that *more labour, with less expence, can be obtained by this method, than by that of labour freely given for hire.*

Q.

Q. 4. What are the names of the British West-India colonies, where this system of slavery at present exists?

A. Antigua, Barbadoes, The Bahamas, Berbice, Bermuda, Demerara, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad, and the Virgin Islands.

Q. 5. What is the amount of the slave population of these Colonies according to the latest returns?

A. Between the years 1820 and 1822, it was as follows, according to returns on the table of the House of Commons: (Papers, Sess. 1824, No. 424.)

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Antigua.	14,454	16,531	30,985
Barbadoes.	36,733	41,612	78,345
Bahamas	5,529	5,279	10,808
Berbice	13,007	10,349	23,356
Bermuda	2,505	2,671	5,176
Demerara	43,227	34,149	77,376
Dominica	7,919	8,635	16,554
Grenada	12,355	13,231	25,586
Jamaica.	170,466	171,916	342,382
Montserrat	3,032	3,473	6,505
Nevis.	4,583	4,678	9,261
St. Christopher..	9,505	10,312	19,817
St. Lucia	6,297	7,497	13,794
St. Vincent	12,007	12,245	24,252
Tobago	6,952	7,363	14,315
Trinidad	13,155	10,382	23,537
Virgin Islands ..	2,975	3,485	6,460
	<hr/> 364,701 <hr/>	<hr/> 363,808 <hr/>	<hr/> 728,509 <hr/>

Q.

Q. 6. Does the slave population of the British West-Indies increase under the present system ?

A. No : since the abolition of the Slave-trade it has considerably decreased. The following is a comparative statement of the years 1817 and 1820, taken from the same returns :

	1817.	1820.	Decrease.	Increase.
Antigua	32,269	30,985	1,284	—
Barbadoes ..	77,493	78,345	—	852
The Bahamas	No account for 1817.			
Berbice	24,549	23,356	1,193	—
Bermuda	No account for 1817.			
Demerara ..	77,867	77,376	491	—
Dominica ..	17,959	16,554	1,405	—
Grenada	28,029	26,899	1,130	—
Jamaica	346,150	342,382	3,768	—
Montserrat ..	6,610	6,505	105	—
Nevis	9,602	9,261	341	—
St.Christopher	20,137	19,817	320	—
St. Lucia	15,039	13,794	1,245	—
St. Vincent ..	25,218	24,252	966	—
Tobago	15,470	14,581	889	—
Trinidad	25,544	23,537	2,007	—
Virgin Islands	6,899	6,460	339	—
			<u>Decrease</u> 15,483	<u>Inc:</u> 852

The progressive decrease in the population of a single island (Grenada), during six successive years, was as follows :

In 1817	there were	28,029 slaves.
1818	.....	27,415
1819	.....	27,060
1820	.....	26,899
1821	.....	25,667
1822	.....	25,586

These numbers show a decrease in six years of 2,413 slaves, or about one-eleventh part of the whole slave population of the island of Grenada.

7 . Should the system continue, what will be the probable result of the progressive waste, or decrease, in the slave population of these colonies ?

A. One of two things : either the depopulation of the colonies, or the revival of a *piratical* Slave-trade, for the purpose of recruiting the plantations.

Q. 8. What is the supposed cause of this gradual decrease in the slave population of the British colonies ?

A. To a very small extent *manumissions* ; but it is, no doubt, to be ascribed principally to the sufferings and oppressions concomitant with the state of slavery, which are unfavourable to the increase of the species.

Q. 9. What is the actual treatment of slaves in the West-Indies ?

A. As there has been much dispute and very contradictory testimony given on this subject, it may be proper to revert to the facts established in evidence before Parliament in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, from which the following particulars, respecting the treatment of West-Indian slaves, may be collected. It was proved that the field slaves, both male and female, are called out to labour at day-light, by the blowing of a large shell ; and if they do not appear at the appointed time, are instantly flogged, in a mode most offensive to humanity as well as decency, and which is peculiar to the West-Indies. When put to their work, they perform it ranged in rows, under the
impulse

impulse of the driver's lash ; each gang of slaves having one or more drivers attached to it. By these means, the weak and infirm are compelled to keep pace with those who are stronger. Such is the course of slave labour from sunrise to sun-set, during the most leisure part of the year, with intervals of about two hours and a half in each day ; which permitted intervals of labour are employed in gathering grass, and should the slaves, in the judgment of the overseer, not collect a sufficient quantity, they are again subjected to the lash. The females rarely experience any indulgence in consideration of their sex. They are employed with the men, in ranks, at *holeing* ;—with them, they are subject to the driver's lash, and sometimes till they are within a few hours of child-bearing. They are even subject to be whipped, as a more formal punishment, when very far gone in pregnancy. Some instances of atrocious cruelty in the punishment of pregnant female slaves are described, which terminated in the death of the sufferers ; the details of which are too revolting to be given in this place. Several witnesses declared, that the slave mothers work under the lash, with their infants upon their backs. In that part of the year, which is usually called *crop-season*, the course of labour to which the slaves are subjected is represented as greatly increased in severity : they then work eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. Their usual periods of relaxation are Saturday afternoon and Sunday, or Sunday only ; and, on some estates, only a part of Sunday. Even in that short space they tend their own provision grounds. Their clothes and their houses, (both scarcely deserving the name) and their food, described as in general very bad, depend altogether upon the will of the overseers, or attornies, whose chief object it is to extract as much profit out of the slaves as possible ; the slaves having

very little or no time to do any thing whereby they may obtain property for themselves. The condition of in-door slaves is described as not materially better than that of field slaves ; the former, as well as the latter, depending on the hourly caprice of their owners, even for an exemption from the lash ; to which, in general, they are subjected as frequently, if not more so, than field slaves ; and suffer, during the paroxysms of passion, into which their owners not unfrequently fall, the most cruel punishments, without warning and without redress. The regular or formal punishments of slaves are represented as in fact depending almost entirely on the discretion of the manager, or immediate agent of the estate ; and as being equally cruel, and offensive to decency. What is called a *flogging*, is described as leaving the body mangled and disfigured, from the small of the back to the knees. The instrument with which this punishment is inflicted is described as a cart-whip, with a plaited thong, or lash of cow's-skin, capable of deeply imprinting its lash upon a deal board. The younger and elder females are subjected to it, equally with those in middle life, and with the males. The younger women are also represented as being frequently compelled to prostitute themselves, at the will of their owner, or overseer ; to whom they are required to pay the wages of their prostitution ; and, on refusal, suffer severe whipping. Many instances were stated in evidence before the House of Commons of cruel and monstrous torture inflicted upon slaves ; and of several murders committed, under the pretence of punishment. It was also stated, that white or creole women had been sometimes known to take part in directing and personally superintending the punishments of both their male and female slaves.

Q. 10. But has not the treatment of West-Indian

Indian slaves greatly improved since the period referred to in this evidence ?

A. It has been so stated by the advocates of slavery ; but that any material improvement has taken place, is, on the other hand denied : and upon the facts which have been elicited, the question may certainly be answered with more truth in the negative than in the affirmative. On the one part it is contended, that the slaves are, in most plantations, better fed and clothed than they formerly were ; and that in some instances, moral improvement has been promoted by the owners of the slaves : but on the other side, it is contended, and there is too much reason to believe with truth, that, in general, moral improvement has not been promoted, but prevented ; and that the treatment the slaves continue to experience, is little less oppressive than it formerly was. It is indisputable that the whip continues to be used as a stimulus to labour in the field ; and that the planters of several islands have, not only refused to relinquish this use of it, but that they also tenaciously retain it, *as a mode of punishment for the negro women*. The case of Huggins, a planter, on the island of Nevis, which occurred in 1810, and was brought before Parliament in 1811, with some more recent instances, prove that planters do still, without any other authority than their own inclination, take their slaves, both male and female, and sometimes entire gangs of them, to the public market-places, and there inflict punishment upon them, individually, in succession, and in the presence of each other. In the case of Huggins, two whole gangs, one of twenty, the other of thirty slaves, of both sexes, were thus flogged, in the public market-place, on Tuesday, the 23d Jan. 1810, of whom some received above three hundred lashes ; and one young female was treated with peculiar cruelty, receiving two hundred

hundred and ninety-one lashes. These facts were stated on the oaths of at least six respectable eye-witnesses; yet, such was the state of public opinion on the Island, that Huggins, when brought to trial, was *acquitted*; and Mr. Howe, the printer of the St. Kitt's Journal, *who had dared to publish the facts, in the form of a Resolution of the House of Assembly, censuring the planter's conduct*, was, for so doing, *committed to the care of a West-Indian jury, on a charge of libel*. These circumstances having come to the knowledge of his Majesty's ministers, orders were sent to the Honourable H. Elliott, Governor of Nevis, to report all the facts, for the information of the King in Council, before whom they underwent such revision as the case would admit of; and the papers were communicated for information to the Houses of Lords and Commons.

Q. 11. What are the more recent instances of cruelty to slaves which have occurred in the British West-Indian or American colonies?

A. In 1817, the same planter, Huggins, of Nevis, was prosecuted for illegally flogging some slaves on the estate of the Hon. T. J. Cottle, to whom he was attorney; and, as in the former case, was acquitted, in opposition to clear evidence. On this occasion, it appears that Huggins (although, as he swore, ignorantly) compelled a father to lacerate and mangle the body of his own son, and directed the sisters of one of the sufferers to be laid down and flogged *for crying*. Other instances of cruelty have been brought to light which occurred at Honduras, in 1821, and were brought under the consideration of Parliament, in 1822. The principal actor in them was one Dr. Mansfield William Bowen; and two of the victims of his savage temper were females. The details of his proceedings would outrage the feelings of English readers,

readers, and for that reason cannot be given in this place. Bowen was brought to trial; but acquitted by a jury of the colony, as Huggins had been before him, at Nevis. He thus escaped justice, although his offence against even colonial law, was most manifest.

The Rev. Thomas Cooper, who was for some years resident on the island of Jamaica, has, since his return to England, published several letters, in which he gives an account* of the treatment of the negroes on that island, abundantly corroborative of the representation of their general treatment, which is given by the cases of Huggins and Bowen. Mr. Cooper, since his return to England and exposure of the treatment of slaves in the West-Indies, has been plentifully libelled for the fidelity of his statements.

Q. 12. But may not the cases just mentioned be regarded as exceptions to a rule; and the general practice of the planters, notwithstanding these instances, be humane and benevolent?

A. The more probable presumption is, that cruelty and oppression are the rule, and humanity the exception.

Q. 13. Why?

A. Because the instances which have been referred to as examples were brought under public observation, and submitted for public censure in the colonies where they occurred, but the course of justice was uniformly and successfully opposed by the prejudices of West-Indian Society. When therefore the general feeling
and

* Facts illustrative of the Condition of the Negro Slaves in Jamaica.
—Hatchard, Piccadilly.

and opinion of any society is so corrupt, and the prejudices of its members, in favour of a vicious system are so strong, that even the laws which are designed to correct and reform those feelings and prejudices, become ineffectual, through the difficulty of their administration, the practice of the community, whatever it may be, having attained an ascendancy over its laws, becomes, in fact, the rule of its conduct.

Q. 14. Is it not surprising, that after the discussions respecting slavery which have taken place, and the abolition of the trade by the British legislature, any persons should be found capable of insulting the government of their country, as Huggins and Bowen appear to have done, by their conduct ?

A. It ought to be deplored, but it is not surprising. The fact furnishes one proof, in addition to many, that the slave system is itself a moral contagion, which will never yield to ordinary remedies. It is difficult to determine whether it is of more powerful influence in stultifying the understandings, or steeling the hearts of men.

Q. 15. Has no improvement in the condition of West-Indian slaves been effected ?

A. The chief, and perhaps only improvement which has been effected in the condition of the slaves has been accomplished by the agency of Christian missionaries ; who have at least taught the slaves a rule and motive of obedience to their cruel and unjust masters, which was till then unknown to them.

Q. 16. How is it possible to ascertain the real condition of West-Indian slaves ?

A. Perhaps

A. Perhaps the truest test of the real condition of West-Indian slaves is the fact, already stated in answer to the sixth question of this section ; namely, that under the present system, with all its *alleged improvements*, the slaves do not keep up the population of the colonies, but waste away ; and thus without a change of system, or foreign supplies, will in a course of years become extinct.

Q. 17. Has it not been stated that the condition of a West-Indian slave is now one of great comfort, and better than that of an English labourer ; the slave having every thing provided for him, the English labourer every thing to provide for himself ?

A. Such statements have been made, with great confidence, by persons connected with the West-Indies ; and similar statements were made during the first discussions respecting the Slave-trade. At that time one naval officer of high rank declared before the House of Commons, that *he envied the condition of the slave*. But such statements can never be received when opposed to more intelligible statements, fully established by proof. To enable us to judge of the accuracy of the former statements, it may be proper to remember that *every thing* which planters, or their attorneys and overseers, consider necessary for slaves may, after all, not be sufficient to reach even their animal wants, and may fall very far short of their moral and intellectual necessities, yet that the slaves, because they are slaves, can have no redress ; while the English labourer, even out of the scanty wages acquired by his own labour, can supply himself with such things as he and his family need, according to his own best judgment and sense of the relative nature and urgency of their several wants. On the other
1
hand,

hand, some things which planters, attornies and overseers deem fit for slaves, such as excessive labour and corporal punishment, the English labourer not judging suitable for himself, or any of his family, his master would not be at liberty to impose these as necessities upon him, or those dependant on him. Much valuable information relative to the present condition of slaves, will be found in a work published by the Rev. R. Bickell, late naval chaplain at Port Royal, Jamaica, entitled "*The West-Indies as they are.*" The sufferings to which slaves are liable from being considered chattels in law, as well as from their liability to discretionary punishment; also the miserable quality of their food, clothing, and lodging, are illustrated in this work by many facts which fell under the author's own observation.

Q. 18. But is it not a fact, that West-Indian slaves are contented, and would never desire a change, were not the idea put into their heads by fanatical persons in England?

A. This also has been boldly and loudly asserted; but to enable us to form a correct judgment of the truth of this assertion, we must look a little into colonial history, as contained in authenticated documents. From these we learn, that slaves rebel and liberate themselves in bodies, and that individual slaves frequently run away; so at least say the colonial and American newspapers, which may be considered documents of unquestionable authority in such a case. They contain great numbers of advertisements for persons in the condition of slaves, who have thought fit to run away from all the *comforts* of that condition, and to wander, without food or resources, any where out of reach of their masters. These malecontents
when

when retaken, are first committed to the *comforts* of a jail or workhouse, and then sentenced to *punishments* and *labours*. According to the Royal Jamaica Gazette, there were, between the 14th and 21st of June 1823, more than one hundred of these runaways from *comfort*, in the jails and workhouses of that island. The terms of the advertisements respecting them, afford some unequivocal indications of that *comfort* from which they had so unaccountably withdrawn themselves. They are described by *brand marks* made with hot irons, on their bare skin, as in the following advertisement: “Mary, a creole woman, five feet and half an inch high, marked on the shoulders W. H. and I. P., sideways, with the shape of a diamond between the I. and P.”:—also by the *indelible marks of secure whipping*, as in the following; “Billy, a stout young creole, with marks of whipping on his back”:—also by *iron collars on*, as, “James, a Congo (African), had on an iron collar, when received”:—also by *loss of front teeth*, from violent blows; by *sores on the neck, occasioned by wearing iron collars*; and *on the legs, by wearing fetters*; and in various other parts of the body, occasioned by injuries received from, or in the service of their masters. Such are the proofs of the *comfort* of that condition which has been stated to surpass in *comfort* that of an English labourer. Jamaica, from which island these instances are collected, has been considered among the best governed of the slave colonies; yet it appears that even this comparatively well-governed island is liable to insurrections of negroes. The following quotation from the writings of an apologist for the West-India system, published in The Times newspaper, of August 14, 1824, may serve to show that the slaves in Jamaica are not yet quite so happy or contented as they have been stated to be. “The whole insurrection, as they call it, at Jamaica, has dwindled down to an escape of fifty

“ wretched slaves into the mountains ; and the only proof
 “ of danger to the government is, that *some of the most*
“ forward of these desperadoes had resolved to take their
“ own lives, rather than be reduced again to bondage.”

Q. 19. In what way does the depressed condition of the slaves operate to prevent the increase of population ?

A. Not so much by the unremitted severity of their labour, or the meagre quality of their diet, as by the constant recurrence of corporal punishment, and the influence of slavery on their minds and morals. The poor and labouring classes in free countries, like Scotland and Ireland, often work hard, and fare still more hardly ; and yet have the largest and healthiest families. This may be ascribed to their enjoying the protection afforded by the laws of a Christian state, duly administered, which begets in their minds a measure of cheerfulness, confidence, and contentment ; and to their being restrained by those same laws, operating as well on their hopes as on their fears, from many fatal irregularities. The spirit of a slave, on the contrary, is early broken by oppression ; his mind, in pursuance of a mean and sordid policy, is allowed to remain without cultivation ; marriage, with all its wholesome restraints, is scarcely known among slaves ; the females accustomed to the exposure of their persons, can have none of that attractive modesty which forms a part of their character in Europe ; this, with their forced subserviency to the passions of the whites, entirely deprives them of that respect which they ought to receive from the other sex of their own colour ; the men have consequently no motive to abstain from licentiousness. It is, moreover, in evidence, that the women have manifested an aversion to child-bearing, and have not enjoyed the reasonable indulgences
 which

which are necessary for the rearing of children. These circumstances appear to account sufficiently for the decrease of population in slave colonies.

Q. 20. Has the population of St. Domingo, or of Sierra Leone, or any place where negroes are in a state of freedom, decreased ?

A. Quite the contrary. On St. Domingo the negro population is stated to have increased in twenty years about half a million, amounting by the returns of the last census to 935,000.

The settlement of Sierra Leone having been wholly formed out of emancipated slaves, and receiving constant accessions of the same, is stated in reports from that country, to have greatly increased, notwithstanding the difficulties and calamities which are inseparable from a new settlement, circumstanced as that has been. It is of course obvious, that Sierra Leone cannot with strict propriety, be referred to in comparison with slave colonies, to show the effect of freedom on population.

But it is well known, that Africans, in their native country, keep up an overflowing population ; which is perhaps the most indisputable and satisfactory evidence upon the point that can be obtained.

Q. 21. Have slaves or negroes ever been hunted with dogs like wild beasts, or poisoned like rats and other vermin, by order of white men ?

A. Yes: on the island of Jamaica the Maroons* were hunted down with blood hounds, by order of a British General.

Hunting of negroes appears to have been a common sport at the Mauritius † and other French colonies.

There

* See Dallas's History of the Maroon War.

† See Grant's History of Mauritius : also Paris's Voyage to Mauritius and Rouchon's Madagascar.

There is in Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory* (ii, 130), one instance recorded of poisoning runaway negroes, on l'Isle Bourbon, which it is hoped is without parallel even in that ample record of crimes, the history of Slavery. The following are the particulars of the transaction, as narrated by the author of the memoir, Mr. C. F. Noble. "A captain of a ship destroyed about forty
 " of them (wild slaves, or slaves who had eloped and lived
 " in the woods), some time ago, by the following stratagem; knowing that from their miserable habitations
 " on the tops of the highest mountains, and in the most
 " impenetrable woods, they commanded a view of the
 " road where his ship lay, and all that passed on the
 " adjacent beach, he put some biscuits, cheese, and bottles of brandy strongly mixed with arsenic, into his
 " boat alongside, and ordered two of his crew to go
 " ashore therewith, as if to divert and regale themselves
 " on the beach; having a particular bottle for themselves.
 " They had not drank their bottle a quarter out, when, as it was expected, a troop of those poor
 " unhappy wretches were observed coming down in
 " great haste; on which, according to their instructions, the two men abandoned their provisions, with a seeming reluctance, and took themselves to their boat; the poor slaves took possession thereof, as of a
 " most valuable prize, and fell directly to eat and drink.
 " Next morning the same boat was sent on shore, when about twenty men were found dead, and about as many
 " still alive, but their bellies prodigiously swelled, having
 " drank great quantities of water at a cascade near them, so that they could not move, but escaped to the other
 " world next day; where, it is possible," (Mr. Noble observes) "they receive better treatment than the captain will when he travels that way."

SECTION IV.

OF THE EFFECTS OF SLAVERY, AND PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE WEST-INDIES, UPON THE MORALS OF THOSE CONNECTED WITH IT.

Q. 1. Has not the state of slavery, as well as the Slave-trade been described as immoral ?

A. Yes. (p. 17.)

Q. 2. Whose morals are affected by it ?

A. Those of both parties ; the Europeans connected with it, as owners or overseers of slaves, and the slaves.

Q. 3. How does the system of colonial slavery affect the morals of those Europeans who are connected with it ?

A. Prejudicially, by familiarizing their minds with practices which are not consistent with justice, virtue or truth ; but are opposed to the first principles of moral rectitude.

Q. 4. To what system of morals is slavery opposed ?

A. To the Christian. It is Antichristian.

Q. 5. How is it Antichristian ?

A. By permitting, and encouraging those who take an active part in its administration habitually to do to others as they would *not* that men should do unto them.

Q. 6.

Q. 6. Is this its only Antichristian feature ?

A. No : It not only favours injustice, but also cruelty and licentiousness, which are opposed to the Christian virtues, mercy and purity.

Q. 7. Has it any particularly prejudicial effect on the morals of Englishmen as such ?

A. It has.

Q. 8. How does it affect the morals of Englishmen in particular ?

A. It is so unfavourable to those principles of liberty, both personal and national, which are the strength and glory of Britain, that a thorough-bred West-Indian appears to be an unsuitable person to fill the office of a juror on a question of liberty or personal right, his habits of thinking and acting, unfitting him to take a fair view of the subject.

Q. 9. Could not West-Indians understand our laws as well as other men ?

A. Theoretically they might, but practically they would not. If, for example, the question were respecting a blow or stripe given by a master to his servant, the West-Indian would probably see in it no just cause of complaint ; or were it respecting restraint by bonds or imprisonment imposed, without magisterial warrant, by a superior on his inferior, it might not be easy to bring a jury of slave proprietors to give suitable damages in such a case, according to the laws of England.

Q. 10. Are not the colonists good and loyal subjects ?

A. Their

A. Their agents have usually supported the ministry in Parliament, and the government has tolerated them and their system ; but the recent treasonable effusions of the Demerara and other journalists, as well as the insubordinate and contemptuous conduct of several of the Houses of Assembly towards the acts of the King, and towards the authority of the British Parliament in the course of the year (1824), show how little their loyalty is to be relied on, when in their own judgment it is inconsistent with their private interests.

Q. 11. How does the system of West-Indian slavery affect the morals of the subjects of it ?

A. It demoralizes them in various ways : begetting in them a timidity inconsistent with manly determination ; a disregard of, and disinclination towards the domestic relations of life ; a forgetfulness of moral obligation ; and a mean subserviency to the passions and lusts of their employers.

Q. 12. Cannot a slave have manly feelings ?

A. Not *as* a slave : patient submission to the lash, and manly feelings are incongruous. If such feelings arise in the mind of a slave, they lead him to resist, and to endeavour to regain his liberty, which would certainly plunge him into greater sufferings, or lodge him in his grave.

Q. 13. May not a slave usefully sustain and enjoy domestic relations ?

A. It is difficult to conceive how he can in the West-Indies, where the rights of marriage are disregarded, and the principle of property in slaves leads so frequently to the separation of those male and female negroes who are

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sufficiently

sufficiently domesticated to agree to live together and rear families. But, above all things, the indiscriminate, irresistible demands of the white male population on the female part of the black, oppose an insuperable obstacle to domestic peace among the negroes.

Q. 14. Is the rite of marriage unknown among the slaves ?

A. Nearly so : as appears by returns laid on the table of the House of Commons, printed in March and May 1823. They represent it as almost wholly unknown in Jamaica, except in four parishes, where the Wesleyan missionaries unite, or insist on the union, in private contract, of those males and females who are received into their societies. These amounted to 3,467 in 15 years. In all the other parishes the total number of marriages was only 109 between the years 1808 and 1822.

The following statement will give a view of the marriages of slaves in the other islands of the West-Indies :

St. Dominica	..... 1810 to 1821.....	12 years..	3
Grenada	..... 1809 to 1821.....	13 years..	—
St. Vincent	..... 1808 to 1821.....	14 years..	—
Barbadoes	..... 1808 to 1820.....	13 years..	—
Antigua	..... 1808 to 1820.....	13 years..	19
Tobago	..... 1812 to 1821.....	10 years..	—
Demerara	..... 1812 to 1821.....	10 years..	—
St. Christopher	.... 1808 to 1821.....	14 years..	—
Virgin Islands	..... 1819 to 1821.....	3 years..	—
Trinidad	..... 1808 to 1821.....	14 years..	3
Nevis	..... 1808 to 1821.....	14 years..	—
Bahamas	..... 1808 to 1821.....	14 years..	10

The Rev. W. T. Austen, minister of St. George's Chapel in Demerara, observes, " The marriages of slaves " is a thing unheard of in this colony ; and I humbly
 " conceive

“ conceive this holy institution to be altogether incompatible with the state of slavery, under existing laws and regulations.”

Q. 15. Has not the contrary of this been publicly asserted?

A. Yes: by a clergyman, on the faith of his clerical character, in “ A Voice from Jamaica ;” but his assertions are abundantly refuted by the authentic documents above referred to. *

Q. 16. Why should slaves be unmindful of moral obligations?

A. They are taught to disregard them by the example of their white masters: and as many of those masters do not provide them with better instruction than their own example, they are not likely to become acquainted with any other rule of conduct. The following anecdote will illustrate this proposition:—“ Did you ever know such rascals?” one day observed a planter to his friend. “ These slaves have driven away six of my cows into the woods and eaten them there.”—“ Don’t be surprised at that, Sir,” replied the friend; “ you have taught them that it is lawful to steal *men*, and they very naturally conclude that it cannot be wrong to steal cows.”

Q. 17. Are the resident planters favourable to the Christian instruction of their slaves?

A. With few exceptions, quite otherwise. Their treatment of the Missionary Smith loudly answers in the negative. But there are other evidences of their hostility to the religious

* See an excellent paper on this subject in the *Times* newspaper, of Tuesday, August 26, 1823.

ligious improvement of the slaves, particularly the destruction of the Methodist chapel at Bridge Town, Barbadoes.

Q. 18. What was their conduct to the Missionary Smith?

A. The Rev. J. Smith was sent to Demerara under the patronage of the London Missionary Society. There he publicly preached the gospel, and educated slaves on an estate called la Resouvenir, conducting himself meekly and unblameably before all men. The expressions of his grief at the cruelties which he was compelled to witness were strictly confined to his private diary, and designed for no eyes but his own and his Creator's. His ministry was public and effectual; but some ferment having arisen among the slaves on the island, this holy man was made almost the first victim to the jealousy and malice of the planters. He and his wife were dragged from their house by a military force and lodged in prison. There, being in a deep consumption, he pined from August to October 1823. He was then brought to a trial before a military tribunal, illegally constituted, and by a process unprecedented for its contemptuous disregard of all legal sanctions, convicted of a treasonable privity with the designs of rebels. On this trial, *hearsay evidence was received against Mr. Smith, but not in his favour*, and his private diary was adduced as evidence to shew that he did not approve the treatment of the slaves. He was therefore sentenced to be hanged, with a recommendation to mercy. On a reference of the sentence to England, his Majesty's pardon was obtained, on the condition of Mr. Smith's voluntary departure from the colony. But it did not arrive at Demerara till sickness and suffering had placed the victim of persecution out of the reach of human malice. The body was buried *in the night*, by order
of

of the Governor; *by whom the widow was prohibited from offering the last tribute of mournful affection to the memory of her deceased husband.*

Q. 19. Has any parliamentary inquiry taken place respecting these unconstitutional proceedings?

A. Yes: they were brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Brongham in May 1824; but, after two long debates, the members of the Government persuaded the House to drop the inquiry; and the motion of Mr. Brougham for further inquiry was lost by the previous question. His Majesty has, however, been pleased to recall Sir John Murray, the then Governor of Demerara.

Q. 20. What was the conduct of the parties who destroyed the Methodist chapel in Barbadoes?

A. Their own account, contained in a placard posted at Bridge-Town, Barbadoes, Oct. 21, 1823, of which the following is a copy, will best explain their conduct.

*“ Great and signal Triumph over Methodism, and total
“ Destruction of the Chapel.*

“ Bridge-Town, Tuesday, Oct. 21, 1823.

*“ The inhabitants of this Island are respectfully informed,
“ that, in consequence of the unmerited and unprovoked at-
“ tacks which have repeatedly been made upon the commu-
“ nity by the Methodist Missionaries (otherwise known as
“ agents to the villainous African Society), a party of respec-
“ table gentlemen formed the resolution of closing the
“ Methodist concern altogether; with this view they com-
“ menced labours on Sunday evening, and they have the
“ greatest satisfaction of announcing that by 12 o'clock
“ last night they effected the total destruction of the
“ chapel:*

“ chapel: to this information they have to add, that the
 “ Missionary made his escape yesterday afternoon, in a
 “ small vessel, for St. Vincent, thereby avoiding that ex-
 “ pression of public feeling towards him, personally, which
 “ he so richly deserved.

“ It is hoped that, as this information will be circulated
 “ throughout the different islands and colonies, all persons
 “ who consider themselves true lovers of religion will follow
 “ the laudable example of the Barbadians, in putting an
 “ end to Methodism and Methodist chapels throughout
 “ the West-Indies.”

Q. 21. What must be the state of public opinion where such persons can challenge for themselves the title of *respectable gentlemen*?

A. Something different from that which exists in England where they would be designated *felonious rioters*.

Q. 22. What treatment would the conduct of these *respectable gentlemen* have entitled them to in England?

A. Transportation, *ou suspension per col*.

Q. 23. Are there other proofs of the hostility of West-Indian planters, and their system, to Christian ministers and their labours?

A. Yes: their treatment of Mr. Austin, a pious clergyman of the Church of England, and latterly the friend of Mr. Smith at Demarara; on which account he was furiously persecuted and expelled the colony; also their treatment of Mr. Cooper. Some valuable facts and observations in proof that the system of Slavery is hostile to Christianity, and counteracts the efforts of the best intentioned clergymen, are contained in Mr. Bickell's work, which repre-

sents the excessive labour, Sunday markets, public punishments in the markets, neglect of marriage and decided hostility of the planters, as opposing insurmountable obstacles to the religious education of slaves.

Q. 24. But are not negroes incapable of those generous sentiments which are found in civilized and Christian society ; and would not moral culture be thrown away upon them ?

A. Certainly not. A volume might be filled with instances, which have found their way into print, of kindness and benevolence on the part of negroes, even after they had endured the miseries of slavery : but one instance taken from the life of Toussaint Louverture shall suffice. His master was one of the unfortunate planters on the Island of St. Domingo ; who not having escaped before the commencement of the revolution of 1791, was on the point of falling into the hands of the enraged negroes ; and would, in that event, certainly have been put to death ; but his former kindness to Toussaint was not forgotten ; who, at the risk of bringing on his own head the vengeance of the multitude, delivered his unhappy master privately out of their hands, and sent him on board a ship bound for America, then lying in the harbour. Nor was this all ; he was not sent away without the means of subsistence. This brave and generous negro found means to put on board secretly, for his use, several hogsheads of sugar to support him in his exile, till the same grateful hands should be able to send him a larger supply. Such was the conduct of a negro on the Island of St. Domingo, at a moment when the feeling of deadly hatred between white and black, raged with its utmost fury,

SECTION V.

OF THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF
COLONIAL SLAVERY.

Q. 1. Has colonial slavery been described as impolitic ?

A. It has; and it is impolitic, whether considered with reference to the interests of the colonies, or of the parent state.

Q. 2. How does the system of colonial slavery affect the political interests of the colonies where it exists ?

A. It renders them insecure, by perpetuating a population in whose minds there can be no sentiment of loyalty ; but, on the contrary, a deep feeling of resentment for past and present injuries ; and a strong predisposition to hail, as their own personal friends, all the enemies of their masters, considering the latter as their oppressors.

Q. 3. Has Great Britain, or any other power, availed itself of this disloyalty, by offering emancipation and rewards to the runaway or revolting slaves of hostile states ?

A. Great

A. Great Britain did so in her war with America; and with so much success, that the Americans complained of it bitterly, as a proceeding altogether unprecedented in war, and not to be borne. This transaction led to a discussion which assumed not only a singular, but a somewhat ludicrous character. The Americans were engaged in a war for independence; and declared the objects for which they contended to be their *rights* and *liberties*: the British troops were fighting for that which they were instructed to consider Great Britain's right; and the British commander, affecting to burlesque the phraseology of the enemy, observed, in correspondence with the Americans, We will also make the war on our part, as on yours, a war for liberty; it shall be *for the liberty of your slaves*. Thus the battle array stood: the defenders of the rights and liberties of American white men, opposed to the defenders of the *rights* of great Britain, and of the *liberties* of American negroes.

More recently, Napoleon Buonaparte did the same thing in his war with Great Britain; offering emancipation to the slaves in our West-Indian colonies; which, of course, the colonists, as well as some gentlemen on this side of the Atlantic, took in high dudgeon, calling it an *outrageous invasion* of their *private property*.

Q. 4. How does the system of colonial slavery affect the political interests of the British empire?

A. It renders the colonies where it exists, even in time of peace, burdensome, rather than beneficial, to the parent state; and, in time of war, altogether an incumbrance. There can be no doubt that, were the British West-Indian colonies self-peopled and self-defended, as our far more

extensive dominions in the East-Indies are, they would, as the latter have done, add materially to the importance and to the strength of this country; but while the former, notwithstanding all the advantages of their insular situation, require, both in peace and war, the aid of ships and troops from Europe for external, as well as internal defence, that is, of ships to prevent the revival of the Slave-trade, and troops to suppress insurrections of the slaves, they add greatly to the charges on the funds of the empire, but nothing to its strength.

Q. 5. Is any considerable land or sea force employed in the West-Indies, or on the coast of Africa, in consequence of the system of slavery?

A. It is notorious, that the military force kept up in the West-Indian Islands is considerably larger, in proportion to their extent and population, than is maintained in any other British colonies. Compared with the East-Indies, it is beyond all proportion greater. The latter colony, although itself an immense empire, containing 120,000,000 of native subjects of the King of Great Britain, is, in fact, chiefly defended by native troops in British pay; but the West-Indians seldom, if ever, dare to put a musket in the hands of a Negro. The expense, by *sea*, consists of the extra charges for a large naval force and rewards paid for the seizure of slaves on the high seas: the latter, including expenses of the commission, amounts annually to about the sum of £62,000; the precise amount of the former is unknown: but whatever it may be, it is probable that the West-Indians would not object to its being retrenched, as the foreign and piratical Slave-trade are materially annoyed by it.

Q. 6. Has

Q. 6. Has the system of slavery retarded or promoted the progress of moral culture in Africa?

A. It has altogether prevented it; and, as long as it exists, will continue to do so, by keeping Africa under the influence of dissociable principles, which tend to perpetuate savage and barbarous manners. She has been for two centuries the theatre of unnatural domestic contentions, scarcely meriting the name of honourable war, fomented by the Europeans who have visited her shores to purchase slaves; and who have from sinister motives promoted her contentions, by supplying her with implements of war and intoxicating liquors. This is fully proved by all the evidence on the subject laid before parliament.

Q. 7. Have the Slave-trade and slavery been favourable to British connexion with Africa?

A. Quite the reverse. Neither this country, nor any other of the European states who have trafficked in slaves, have been able to obtain that kind of influence in Africa, which Great Britain, by pursuing a different policy, has obtained in Asia. Notwithstanding the proverbial hospitality of the natives of Africa, the most adventurous British travellers on that continent have perished there; and the footing which Great Britain has obtained on the coast has, from its first acquisition, been maintained by not less than thirteen garrisoned forts, with scarcely any contiguous territory. The garrisons of these forts are an annual charge on the revenues of this country of £45,000, for which it receives no adequate return, either political or commercial.

Q. 8. Are the Africans in a state to enter into political relations, and would they be bound by treaties?

A. As much so as the Americans, Asiatics, or even Europeans. All bodies politic are governed by present interest or opinion ; and, unfortunately, the conduct of Europeans, including Great Britain, towards Africa has been such as to cause both these motives to operate against them. So long as they make merchandize of the persons of Africans, what virtues can the latter suppose them to possess?—what confidence repose in them?—or what benefit expect from intercourse with them? A few drunken chiefs may cultivate acquaintance with men of a kindred spirit on the coast of Africa ; but, to the bulk of the people of that continent, the form of a white man, associating as they do with that form, the ideas of the loss of kindred, and of many dire calamities connected with that loss, must be one of the most fearful things which an African imagination can paint. It was gravely stated in evidence before Parliament, that Africans of the interior believe that white men drink their blood, and make bread of their bones.

Q. 9. Do Africans enslave other nations ?

A. There is no ground for such a charge against African negroes. The different tribes are believed to enslave each other ; and, it is maintained, would continue to do so, had they no foreign market for the slaves, as they did so before they had such a market : but this is mere assertion. The Algerines are believed to have always enslaved the natives of European states with whom they have been at war, upon which account all European powers have agreed, with wonderful consistency of sentiment, to denounce the Algerines as *barbarians*, and as worthy to be rooted out from the face of the earth, and utterly destroyed. Yet the Algerines do not visit the shores of unoffending states, and kidnap the natives of those

those states, or purchase them from those who do : *That practice is the exclusive boast of more refined nations.*

Q. 10. To what is it ascribable, that Britain, after an intercourse of more than two centuries with the continents of Asia and Africa, has made so little progress in friendly communication with the nearer continent of Africa ; and established such a close and mutually beneficial intercourse with the more remote continent of Asia ?

A. In the case of Africa it is ascribable to Great Britain's guilty participation of the Slave-trade ; and in that of Asia to her wise and liberal policy. Had the East-India Company employed their shipping in transporting slaves from one part of India to the other, or from India to other countries, they never would have established that more profitable and legitimate traffic with those parts which they have since carried on ; nor is it likely that they would have acquired one inch of that ample territory, the revenues of which they now enjoy : nor would Britons at this day have known more about the interior of Asia, than they do about the interior of Africa. That confidence and veneration for their national character which has been the basis of their success in India, would have had no existence : and India herself would have lost all those benefits which she has derived from close intercourse with Great Britain, and from a gradual, but not less effectual, introduction of British *principles, manners, and laws among her tribes.*

SECTION VI.

OF THE COMMERCIAL RESULTS OF THE
WEST-INDIAN SLAVE-SYSTEM.

Q. 1. Are there any great commercial advantages derived from colonial slavery, which counterbalance its moral and political disadvantages?

A. Its advocates take great pains to implant such a notion in the public mind; but the contrary is the fact.

Q. 2. How can that be proved?

A. By a close examination of the relative value of the West-Indian trade, compared with that of the other colonies.

Q. 3. Have not the West-Indies under the present system been considered a very profitable mart for British exports, which they would cease to be, if the system of slavery were destroyed?

A. The West-Indies have been for many years a considerable mart for British exports; and are so still, although not to the same extent as formerly. Yet it is not only far
from

from being evident, that they would not remain so under a better system of domestic polity than slavery, but fair to assume that they would.

Q. 4. What are the articles exported to the West-Indies ?

A. They are various : comprehending almost every species of British manufacture ; the West-Indians themselves attending to no manufacture, except of the articles they cultivate and export. Great Britain exports to her West-Indian colonies, clothing of all sorts, chiefly coarse woollens for the negroes ; provisions of various kinds, as oats, pease, barley, Irish provisions, oil cake, herrings, salt-fish, salt ; also tools for all trades ; ironmongery, and wares of all descriptions ; wrought copper, pewter, earthenware, stationery, apothecary's ware, haberdashery, hardware, cordage, tallow, soap, oils, colours, coals, &c. &c.

Q. 5. To what sum do these exports amount annually ?

A. In 1815 they amounted to £6,663,538, and in 1823 they amounted to £3,383,661. They declined gradually between the former and latter dates ; owing to the declining prosperity of the West-Indian capitalists.

Q. 6. What are the articles imported from the West-Indies ?

A. Principally *Sugar, Rum, and Coffee.*

Q. 7. To what sum do these imports amount annually ?

A. According to computation, on an average of five years, to about £8,600,000.

Q. 8. What is the benefit which Great Britain derives from her West-Indian trade ?

A. It is threefold. First, the employment of her shipping and navigators; secondly, the sale of her manufactures; and thirdly, the balance of trade in favour of her merchants, or the excess of imports over exports. But from this last item must be deducted the amount of difference between the price actually paid by the public for West-Indian produce, and that at which similar produce might be obtained, were it not for a prohibitory duty.

Q. 9. What tonnage do the imports occupy ?

A. The sugar occupies about 193,000 Tons.

The other articles about 44,389

Making a total of 237,387

Q. 10. To what number of British navigators does the West-Indian trade afford employment ?

A. It is computed to keep in employment 12,057 sailors.

Q. 11. Do the other colonies of Britain receive her manufactures in return for produce ?

A. All of them; the exports to the East-Indies in particular, exceed those to the West.

Q. 12. Could any of the articles imported from the West-Indies be obtained more advantageously from any other British colony ?

A. Yes: sugar could be obtained from the East-Indies so much cheaper, as to supplant that from the West; coffee is also obtainable at Mocha, and of a very superior description;

tion; but Mocha not being a British colony, its coffee is much more expensive than West-Indian coffee.

Q. 13. Why is sugar not imported from the East-Indies?

A. Because the British government, in order to favour the West-Indies, has imposed a much higher duty on East-Indian sugar, amounting almost to a prohibition; notwithstanding which, a small quantity of it has been annually imported. The importation will probably be increased, in consequence of a decided preference now given to it by the friends of abolition.

Q. 14. In what light is the higher duty which is laid on East-Indian sugar viewed by the people of Great Britain, and what is the amount of it?

A. It is viewed in the light of a premium for slavery, which they are compelled, though reluctantly, to pay. Its amount is 10s. per cwt. imposed on sugar, the produce of the British dominions in the East-Indies, above what is paid on West-Indian sugar. There is also a bounty paid on the exportation of refined sugar, which raises the price of all sugar in the market at least 6s. per cwt. more: the amount of the duty and the bounty are both, in fact, drawn out of the pockets of the nation, and operate as a tax collected for the support of the West-Indian system.

Q. 15. How would the equalization of the duties operate?

A. There can be no doubt that it would occasion an increased importation of sugar from the East-Indies, or from some other country where it could be obtained cheaper

than in the West-Indies. Such a measure would also occasion a corresponding exportation of British produce or manufactures to that country, and thus secure the interests of British commerce, although in other directions.

Q. 16. In that case, what would become of the maritime interests of Great Britain ?

A. Ships and sailors being still necessary for the conveyance of the sugar, they would continue to be employed, and the maritime interests of Great Britain would suffer no loss ; but would gain in exact proportion as the length of the voyage might be increased.

Q. 17. What benefit would the British public derive from such a change ?

A. They would have the article of sugar cheaper by a sum computed at nearly £2,000,000 per annum, which would be a saving to them, they being the consumers, equal to the repealing of a tax to that amount. They would also be relieved from the *painful alternative of either consuming the produce of slave-labour, or of dispensing with an article now become, from habit, a necessary of life.*

Q. 18. Can any reason be assigned why West-Indian sugar is more expensive than that which is manufactured in the East ?

A. No other than that the former is the fruit of slave-labour, the latter produced by the labour of freemen.

Q. 19. How does that circumstance affect the value of the produce ?

A. By loading that which is the produce of slave-labour with a weight of *artificial capital*, from which the produce of free labour is exempt. This will be apparent on considering,

sidering, that the labour of the slaves employed in manufacturing sugar in the West-Indies, has to sustain the charge not only of all the expenses of their support, but of a considerable additional sum as their pecuniary *personal value*. Supposing, for the sake of illustration, the value of a full-grown male slave to be £150 sterling, the price at which a West-Indian would ordinarily estimate such a slave, the owner's interest being but a contingent one in the life of that slave, so much labour must be required from him as will be sufficient to pay to his owner an interest of at least 8 per cent. upon £150, or £12 per annum; over and above that remuneration which the owner very reasonably expects to derive from his slave's labour, for those comforts with which the planters now affirm that they supply their slaves liberally. In the East-Indies, where man has no such *personal pecuniary value* as he has in the West, very moderate wages and good treatment will secure plenty of labourers, to perform any kind or measure of service; and the simplicity of the clothing and diet of the Asiatics, enables them to labour for very moderate wages. Hence arises a great difference between the East and West-Indies in the value of labour, which of course affects in a corresponding degree the value of produce. An intelligent Asiatic traveller, Dr. Francis Buchanan, in his "*Journey into Mysore*," has placed this subject in a very clear light. After describing the inferior machinery employed by the Hindoos, he observes, vol. i. p. 342.

" So far as a very slight knowledge of Jamaica will
 " enable me to judge, the sugar-planters of the West-Indies have a decided advantage over those of Hindustan
 " in climate, soil, carriage and skill, both in agriculture
 " and mechanics; but *the enormous price of labour* must
 " always be a heavy drawback on them, while they con-

“ tinue the present system of keeping up the population by
 “ slaves imported from Africa.”

Q. 20. But since the abolition of the Slave-trade, that mode of keeping up the population has ceased ; how therefore does the observation apply at the present time ?

A. The “ *enormous price of labour*” did not cease with the cessation of the Slave-trade, but still remains, as an effect of that original mode of keeping up the population ; and presses on the produce of the colonies in the form of an *artificial capital vested in slaves*. It is notorious that every West-Indian planter, who possesses and employs slaves upon his estate, values not only his land but his slaves separately, and that if such an one possessed 500 young male slaves, he would probably estimate them at about £150 each, and consider himself as having vested or sunk in those slaves a corresponding amount of capital, *viz.* £75,000, and that he would expect to derive commercial interest upon that capital out of the labour of those slaves, over and above remuneration of the expenses attendant upon their daily support. This enormous amount of artificial or ideal capital invested, is without doubt the great evil of the slave-system, commercially considered. An East-Indian, on the contrary, who plants land to the same extent, or for the same amount of produce, has no capital embarked on *his* plantation, beyond the value of a few oxen and his agricultural implements, with some slight sheds for his manufacture. His labourers are natives of the district in which he finds them, willing to labour for a less sum in wages than would feed and clothe the same number of negroes in the West-Indies, throwing out of the question all consideration of capital vested in their persons. Thus the East-Indian
 produces

produces his sugar with comparatively little, if any outlay ; and thus by produce essentially similar, but brought nearly three times the distance, he is enabled to compete with the planter of the West, in the European market.

Q. 21. Is not £150 too high a valuation for a single male slave ?

A. Not according to the returns of manumission, on Jamaica, printed by Parliament in 1823, which among other items, contain the following :—(P. 8.) Nero, negro-man, £240.—(P. 18.) Mary Judy Rowe, Mulatta-woman, £230.

Q. 22. But is not the charge arising from capital invested in slaves counterbalanced by the greater efficiency and superior productiveness of slave-labour over free-labour ?

A. Quite the reverse. It has been long known that slave-labour, and particularly that of the West-Indies, is much less efficient and productive than free-labour. That distinguished statesman and financier, Mr. Pitt, stated this fact in the House of Commons in the year 1793, appealing, in confirmation thereof, to a report from Granada, the framers of which had incautiously admitted, as an excuse for allowing the slaves only half a day in every week for the culture of their provision grounds, that a slave *would do as much work in that half day as in any whole day employed in the service of his master, because he was working for himself.* Mr. Pitt, who had powerfully urged the necessity of immediate emancipation, upon the ground of œconomy, supported his proposal by an argument founded on the very fact, thus ascertained, which appeared to him equal to a demonstration of the superior productiveness of free-labour over that of slaves. Scarcely any part of the great argument relative to slavery, has

has undergone more discussion than this question respecting the comparative value of free and slave labour, and in no part of the controversy has the influence of prejudice over the minds of the advocates of slavery been more apparent. They have been proof against the most clear arguments drawn from the œconomy of man, and the fitness of things, and have laboured with a most dishonourable zeal, to undervalue the instances which have been adduced in defence of free labour. Instances, nevertheless, have been adduced in full confirmation of the doctrine that free labour is more productive than that of slaves; which, moreover, go to prove, that negroes, when emancipated, increase in numbers, while as slaves they decrease.—See on this subject “The injurious effects of “Slave Labour;” also Mr. Hall’s address; Mr. Hodson’s letter to Say; “Support of Slavery investigated by Cropper;” “Clarkson’s thoughts on the necessity of improving the condition of the slaves,” &c.

Q. 23. What is the fair inference from the fact and arguments above referred to?

A. Clearly nothing less than that moral motives, of which blacks are quite as susceptible as whites, are with the former, as they would be with the latter, twice as operative as the lash, and that the West-Indians are not unaware of this, although through prejudice they adhere to their system.

Q. 24. Are the want of moral motives, and the great amount of capital embarked in slaves, the only causes of the expensiveness of the West-Indian sugar manufacture?

A. No: although they are the principal causes, there are, or at least were, not long since, many other defects in the West-Indian system of management, which have been

been ably stated by Mr. Botham, a sugar-planter, who had been in the West-Indies and afterwards settled at Batavia in the East-Indies "The West-India planter," says Mr. Botham, "for his own interest, should give more labour to beasts and less to man; a larger portion of his estate ought to be in pasture. When practicable, canes should be carried to the mill, and cane-tops and grass to the stock, in waggons. The custom of making a hard-worked negro get a bundle of grass twice a-day should be abolished, and in short a total change take place in the miserable arrangement of the West-Indies." In drawing a comparison between the agricultural systems of the East and West-Indies, he also observes, "The hoe was scarcely used in the East, whereas it was almost the sole implement in the West. The plough was used instead of it in the East, as far as it could be done. Young canes were there kept often ploughed as a weeding, and the hoe was kept to be used round the plant when very young; but of this there was little need if the land had been sufficiently ploughed. When the cane was ready to be earthed up, it was done by a sort of shovel made for the purpose. Two persons with this instrument would earth up more cane in a day than ten negroes with hoes. The cane-roots were also ploughed up in the East, whereas they were dug up with the severest exertion in the West. Many other alterations are to be made, and expenses and human labour lessened in the West. *Having experienced,*" Mr. Botham adds, "*the difference of labourers for profit and labourers from force, I can assert, that the savings by the former are very considerable.*" These observations of an experienced practical man show, so far as the testimony of such a man is allowed credit, that the slave-system is as defective, commercially

mercially considered, as it is repugnant to good morals and sound policy.

Q. 25. Have not the West-Indians found their system, upon the whole, a beneficial one ?

A. So much otherwise, that in 1823 they petitioned Parliament for further protection : and in 1824 sought to shroud themselves in special privileges as a chartered company.

Q. 26. Was Mr. Wilberforce then fully warranted in declaring, that, “ *the evils of which the planters complain proceed from the vices of their system?*”

A. Most fully. The West-Indian system, commercially considered, is perhaps the very worst which the ingenuity of man could have devised, even had his ingenuity been employed to frame a bad system. In the first place, the West-Indians have most improvidently invested capital to a large amount in that which ought never by wise men, certainly not by Christians, to be considered as *property*, namely, the blood and bones, and sinews, and nerves of *MAN*. Secondly, when they had done this, they adopted a system of management altogether incongruous with the nature of this *property*, by using physical force to the neglect of moral influence. They have limited his functions to mere mechanical agency : employing that agency in excess, where a far less costly agency might have served. Hence have proceeded oppression and cruelty, with which avarice and the sensual passions concurred ; yet all have failed to obtain the expected return, or to enable the West-Indians to compete, in a British market, with other colonists who pursue the same object by a different and more rational mode.

SECTION VII.

OF REMEDIES FOR THE EVILS OF SLAVERY.

Q. 1. HAS it not been considered possible to remedy the evils of slavery, without abolishing it?

A. It has been supposed to be so; but a contrary opinion is, with good reason, entertained by the friends of abolition.

Q. 2. What remedies have been suggested, upon the presumption that the evils of slavery are remediable?

A. Religious instruction, and cultivation of morals, with modifications and improvements in all parts of the system of management, both as respects master and slave.

Q. 3. What advantage would a slave, as such, derive from religious instruction?

A. It might reconcile him to his hard lot on higher and nobler principles than he could otherwise possess; but would in no other way remedy the evils of his condition: on the contrary, his attempts to acquire religious knowledge might subject him to punishment, and involve him in suffering; and any attempt on the part of a slave, to impart such knowledge to others would, now certainly, subject him to punishment; according to a colonial law, which

- says, "any slave or slaves found publicly preaching or
 " teaching any religious subject, shall upon due proof
 " thereof be punished, in such manner as any two justices
 " may deem proper, by whipping or imprisonment."

Q. 1. What benefits would result to a slave, as such, from moral improvement?

A. If moral improvement implies, as it appears to do, intellectual culture, none; since any enlargement of the understanding of a slave could only serve to make him feel the bondage of his body more keenly, and render his condition, in his own estimation, more cruel and intolerable.

Q. 5. If religious instruction and moral improvement would produce such effects, are not the planters justified in opposing them?

A. Not unless they have a right to hold the slaves and their offspring in perpetual bondage. In that case there can be no doubt that they are also right in their opposition to the enlargement of their understandings, if not to the improvement of their morals. But if, as the colonists profess to admit, slavery is at some future time to be abolished, and the negroes are to be admitted to a participation of that freedom, which is the natural inheritance of all men, then are religious instruction and moral improvement requisite to qualify the slaves for an improved condition.

Q. 6. What other reforms in the condition of slaves are practicable?

A. The particulars are so numerous, extending to every part of the management and occupations of the slaves, that it is difficult to specify them.

Q. 7.

Q. 7. Are there no prominent parts of the system of management in which reform is more especially desirable?

A. Yes: a mitigation of the labours of the slaves; the disuse of the whip, and the promotion of marriage and protection of the marriage bond.

Q. 8. Would these reforms effectually promote the happiness of the slaves?

A. Unquestionably they would promote this end, provided the execution of them could be secured: but, in order to secure it, the slaves must be invested with legal rights, and their testimony against white men received. Without this, all legislative amelioration of their condition would be amelioration upon paper merely; the slaves, in nine cases out of ten, continuing without any means of redress, in cases where their rights had been infringed, or their persons wantonly assailed.

Q. 9. What is meant by a registry of slaves?

A. A record of the names and numbers of the slaves upon the several estates, which has been established in some of the islands, but not fully in the whole of them.

Q. 10. Has the registry of slaves any influence in ameliorating their condition?

A. Yes; it enables the magistrates, should they be so disposed, to call for a strict account of the manner in which slaves have been disposed of. In some cases, this may operate beneficially for the slaves, by bringing them under the guardianship of the whole community, and affording them a chance of benefiting by any portion of humane feeling which may be found in it. But the benefits

resulting to slaves from the system of registration, must be partial and accidental, so long as the general character of West-Indian society remains as it is at present.

Q. 11. How does the registry of slaves affect any secret traffic in slaves which may still exist?

A. The principal benefit expected to result from its institution was, that it would furnish means for checking that traffic: but it is believed to be insufficient for its entire suppression, or uniform detection, owing to its not having been permanently adopted.

Q. 12. Have no means been employed to cause the effectual and permanent registration of slaves?

A. Yes: an attempt has been made to enforce a permanent system* of registration, in all the colonies, by authority of the British Parliament: but it was opposed by the West-Indian interest, and did not succeed.

Q. 13. In what way was it opposed by them?

A. They neutralized it, by omitting the most important of the proposed sanctions, whereby the chief end of its institution was defeated.

Q. 14. Why did they oppose it?

A. Because, it may fairly be presumed, they perceived that it would bring into a clear light, and furnish evidence respecting many of the evils of their system; and particularly, that it would throw on them an accountability for a kind of *property*,

* See several pamphlets respecting the Slaves' Registry Bill, published in 1816 and 1817.

property, for which they have always appeared to be most anxious to hold themselves not accountable.

Q. 15. Has not some general and extensive plan of amelioration for West-Indian slaves been proposed in Parliament?

A. A very comprehensive plan was proposed in the House of Commons, on the 15th of May 1823, by T. F. Buxton, Esq.

Q. 16. What were the leading features of that plan?

A. To cause the slaves to cease to be *chattels* in the eye of the law; to prevent their removal, as *slaves*, from colony to colony, and, under certain modifications, their sale or transfer, except with the land to which they might be attached; to abolish markets and compulsory labour on the Sunday; and to make that day a day of rest, as well as of religious worship and instruction; and also to secure to the slaves equivalent time in each week, in lieu of Sunday, and in addition to any time which, independently of Sunday, is now afforded them, for cultivating their provision grounds; to protect the slaves, by law, in the possession and transmission of any property they may thus, or in any other way, acquire: to make the testimony of slaves available in courts of justice, both in civil and criminal cases; to relieve all negroes or persons of colour from the burden of legally proving their freedom, when brought into question, throwing on the claimant of their persons the burden of legally proving his right to them; to provide the means of religious instruction for the black and coloured population, and of Christian education for their children; to institute marriage among the slaves, and to protect that state from violation, and from
either

either forcible or voluntary disruption ; to put an end to the driving system ; to put an end also to the arbitrary punishment of slaves, and to place their persons as well as property under the guardianship of the law ; to provide that no colonial governor, judge, attorney-general, or fiscal, shall be a possessor of slaves, or shall have a direct and obvious reversionary interest in such property, or shall be the agent of the proprietors of slaves. To these were added three propositions relative to emancipation.

Q. 17. Was there any thing unreasonable in these propositions, or inconsistent with substantial justice, according to the analogies of English law and sound policy ?

A. Apparently not any thing.

Q. 18. How were they disposed of ?

A. They were met by an amendment to the effect, merely, that amelioration was expedient, and that the House of Commons was anxious for its accomplishment, but stating nothing in detail. This amendment was proposed in the House of Commons, by the Right Honourable George Canning, one of his Majesty's ministers, and adopted.

Q. 19. Have his Majesty's ministers subsequently entered into any explanations with the abolitionists ?

A. Yes : they have intimated their intention of reducing their general principles to practice, experimentally, in all the colonies subject more immediately to the King's government, by the adoption of the following regulations :—
That the slaves shall be protected by law in the possession,
and

and also in the transmission, by bequest or otherwise, of any property they may acquire; that means shall be provided of religious instruction for the slaves, and of Christian education for their children; that the driving system shall be peremptorily and entirely abolished, so that the whip shall no longer be the stimulant to labour; that an end shall also be absolutely put to the degrading corporal punishment of females; that measures shall be taken to restrain, generally, the power of arbitrary punishment, and to prevent its abuse; that the means of religious instruction being provided, the Sundays shall be given up to the slaves for rest, recreation, and religious instruction and worship (Sunday markets being abolished); and that equivalent time shall be allowed them, on other days, for the cultivation of their provision grounds; that the marriage of slaves shall be authorized and sanctioned by law; and that they shall, likewise, be protected in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.

Q. 20. Where is it understood that these measures of amelioration are to be experimented?

A. In Trinidad, Demerara, Berbice, St. Lucia, the Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope.

Q. 21. Are the other colonies unfavourable to improvement in the condition of the slaves?

A. Very unfavourable. In 1824, several ameliorations in the condition of the slaves, particularly the discontinuance of the lash, as a mode of punishment for females, were recommended to them, by order of his Majesty, through his Secretary of State for the colonial department, but were rejected by them.

Q. 22.

Q. 22. By what authority do these colonists oppose themselves to measures of amelioration, which in the judgment of the King and British public are desirable and necessary?

A. They plead their chartered rights.

Q. 23. What are those chartered rights?

A. Rights which the inhabitants of the islands in the West-Indies derive from royal charters, to regulate their colonial affairs by local governments.

Q. 24. What is the form of their governments?

A. It is similar to that of the government of Great Britain. The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of each island, or colony, representing the king in his respective colony, and in its House of Assembly, which is constituted by election (*none but white men having a right to vote*) and in which all public measures are proposed by bill, and discussed like acts of the British Parliament, till they are matured and become the laws of the colony, which the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor is bound to see administered.

Q. 25. What do you learn from such conduct in bodies so constituted?

A. That the best parts of our political constitution are capable of being perverted to the worst of purposes, and that the authority of the British Government is become necessary to restrain the acts of her colonists.

Q. 26. But do not the colonists contend that Great Britain has no right to restrain them, or to interfere with their system of slavery,
which

which they consider to be a part of their internal polity?

A. They have long maintained that doctrine.

Q. 27. Are they justifiable in maintaining it?

A. Certainly not: Great Britain, as the parent state, possesses a discretionary right of interference; and is, at the present time, warranted in her interference by the necessity of the case, founded on several specific considerations.

Q. 28. On what is the discretionary right of Great Britain, as the parent state, founded?

A. On the obligations the colonies are under to her for political existence; and for support and protection, from the commencement of that existence to the present time. With reference to Great Britain, the colonies, as children, owe submission to the parent's authority, so long as they are dependent.

Q. 29. Are they dependent?

A. Yes: our manufactures supply their wants. We receive the whole of their produce, and consume the greater part of it. They are also defended by British ships and troops from external and internal foes. It appears, therefore, to be scarcely possible to imagine colonies more dependent.

Q. 30. By what specific considerations is the interference of Great Britain with the domestic affairs of her West-Indian colonies warranted at the present time?

A. First, by political considerations: Great Britain has a right to reform that in their conduct which makes them

unnecessarily burthensome to her in time of peace, and an encumbrance in time of war (p. 73). Secondly, by commercial considerations: she has a right to refuse a preference to their slave-manufactured produce, seeing that, while it is more costly than other similar produce, there is no better reason for their requiring such preference, than that the produce being slave-manufactured, is, therefore, more expensive; and that the West-Indians, by refusing to abolish slavery, hold out no prospect of being able to supply it cheaper. Great Britain is warranted, under such circumstances, in opening her markets on equal terms to similar produce from her other colonies (p. 81). Thirdly, on moral considerations: the system of slavery being depraved and contaminating, *contra bonos mores*, the King and Parliament of Great Britain, as the guardians of the public morals throughout the empire, are bound to abate the nuisance. Policy, equity, morality, and the necessity of the case, all concur fully to warrant the interference of Great Britain with the internal government of her West-Indian colonies.

Q. 31. Have not the colonists said, “Great Britain had better mind her own affairs (Ireland in particular), than interfere with them?”

A. They have said so; but it has been clearly shewn that *their reformation* is the proper concern of the British Government, and that Britons have a great interest in effecting it.

Q. 32. By what method can the authority of the British Government interpose to benefit the slaves in the West-Indies?

A. By

A. By a royal commission, sanctioned by Parliament, and armed with full powers to re-model their governments and laws, so as to admit their slaves to the present possession of civil rights; also to appoint new functionaries, where necessary, and by other measures to insure, at no very distant period, the entire abolition of slavery in the British West-Indian Colonies.

SECTION VIII.

OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

Q. 1. Have any plans been suggested for the total abolition of slavery?

A. Yes: several.

Q. 2. What are they?

A. They are of two descriptions: one for the immediate unqualified abolition,* and others for a gradual abolition.

Q. 3. Upon what principle has immediate unqualified abolition been proposed?

A. Upon the broad principle of substantial justice. The slaves are considered by its advocates in the light of stolen property, the possession of which time cannot legalize; but which it is at all times incumbent, equally on the thief or the receiver, to restore—not as a matter of favour, but as a matter of right, and expression of sincere repentance, according to the rule laid down in the sacred Scriptures.

Q.

* This mode of abolition has been advocated in a tract, entitled, "Immediate, not Gradual Abolition;" also in a pamphlet, entitled, "The Rights of Man in the West-Indies," by Anthropolos.

Q. 4. Have any objections been advanced against immediate abolition?

A. Yes: it has been strenuously opposed on three grounds. The first is, that those Britons who first emigrated to the West Indies and America,* "did so under the encouragement of the Government, who confirmed to them " by charter whatever property they might acquire, in full " right, as much as if they had had lands or merchandize " in England." The second ground of objection is, that it would be a measure pregnant with inconvenience and danger, to place entirely at their own disposal a number of ignorant negroes, who have not been previously prepared for freedom by suitable instruction or mental culture. The third is, that immediate abolition would be either a virtual sequestration of a great amount of capital invested in slaves, or subject the British nation to a heavy charge for the remuneration to the slave-holders, of a sum of money equal to the computed value of their slaves.

Q. 5. To the first of these objections, what answer can be given?

A. That the grant of proprietary rights to the original colonists could be considered as including nothing which was not held to be *property* according to the laws of Great Britain; and that to maintain that the charters of the colonists could entitle those to whom they were granted, to go to the shores of Africa and enslave its inhabitants, is little less absurd than to maintain that similar grants from the Crown could legalize and sanction the perpetration of murders, rapes, arson, forgery, or any other acts which are capital crimes according to British law, provided only that they were committed in foreign lands or upon the high seas.

* West Indies as they are, pages 5 and 6.

Q. 6. What is the Assiento treaty, which has been pleaded as containing an express sanction, on the part of government, to the practice of enslaving the natives of Africa?

A. A treaty concluded between Anne, Queen of Great Britain, and the Spanish Monarch, by which the British Queen undertook to procure and furnish a number of slaves to the Spanish Colonies of South America.

Q. 7. Did not this amount to a national sanction of slavery?

A. Not more so than as many other acts of the British Monarchs, which were never considered as pledging the nation to the bad principles involved in them, sanctioned those principles. The operation of the treaty was limited to thirty years, and its revival was not permitted. The only light in which it can now be viewed, is that of the *bad act of a bad ministry*.

Q. 8. Have the laws of England at any time authorized Englishmen to hold property in slaves?

A. Not the laws, so far as granting to slavery their *express* sanction; but many acts of Parliament refer to slavery as a thing existing, and they refer to crimes in the same manner. Some acts of Parliament have prescribed various measures with respect to slaves,* particularly those acts which, as modified censures of the system of slavery, directed more space to be allotted to them in slave ships. The equity courts have also recognized slaves, in the colonies, as property, in suits which have been brought before those courts respecting colonial estates.

Q.

* See Geo. II. cap. 7.

Q. 9. To the second objection, what answer has been given?

A. It has been admitted that the generality of the slaves in the West-Indies are uncivilized and ignorant, (for which their owners are most justly blamable, having had abundant means for improving the morals of their slaves). But it is contended, in defence of immediate abolition, that the impartation of personal immunities and legal rights to slaves would carry with it, of necessity, legal restraints on their actions; that slaves who can comprehend the wishes and will of their own masters, could also understand their responsibility to the laws of the community, of which they formed a part; and that, in point of fact, emancipated slaves had never shewn any disability to sustain or fulfil the relations of social or domestic life. It is also contended that free Africans are often very laborious in their habits; that on the other hand many labourers, natives of European countries, are extremely ignorant, but fully capable of understanding that very simple proposition, "he that will not work neither shall he eat;" that there is not the least reason for supposing a negro less capable than a European of understanding such a proposition, and of governing himself accordingly; that in every community there will be some persons dead to all motives to virtuous exertion, and that even in such cases the sanction and protection of equal laws give to necessary punishment a justification in the consciences of the sufferers, which it would not otherwise possess.

Q. 10. How is it proposed to meet the objection, that immediate emancipation would be either a virtual sequestration of property, or subject the nation to great expense?

A.

A. In two ways : first, by rejecting the claim on account of property ; secondly, by admitting the claim to a certain extent and devising means for satisfying it.

Q. 11. On what ground is it proposed to reject the claim ?

A. Upon the ground that the slaves having been originally procured by methods altogether criminal, and slavery being a state inconsistent with *British law*, no claim to a property in slaves could be legally established ; and therefore, that the nation ought not to recognize such a claim.

Q. 12. On what ground is it proposed to admit the claim on account of property supposed to be invested in slaves, and to what extent is it proposed to satisfy it ?

A. It is proposed to admit the claim on the ground that use and national connivance constitute a prescriptive right, which it might therefore be unjust to deny and expedient to recognize, so far as allowing a vested interest in the present generation of slaves, but most positively to limit that interest to Africans born prior to a certain date.

Q. 13. Where would the West Indians look for such indemnity as they might consider themselves entitled to, in the event of a general emancipation of their slaves ?

A. They have always maintained that their claim would be exclusively on the funds of the British nation.

Q. 14. Would it be equitable to admit their claim to indemnity, as against the British nation exclusively ?

A.

A. Certainly not; as it respects the funds of the country, a very limited compensation, if any, would be all that the equity of the case demands: the extent or the amount of it to be ascertained by inquiry.

Q. 15. Would such a qualified remuneration be satisfactory to the West-Indians?

A. Presuming them to be free from prejudice and sincerely disposed to promote that which the honour of their country and the claims of humanity call for, it would; yet it is probable they would not be satisfied.

Q. 16. In the event of their objecting, in what way should the West-Indians be dealt with?

A. In such a way as other persons possessed of property required for public improvement would be dealt with. The wisdom of Parliament should prescribe that which is right, and the authority of the country enforce it.

Q. 17. But are there not difficulties in the way of emancipation, arising out of the proprietary rights of the slave-holders, which are considered by some persons as insurmountable?

A. There are such difficulties in the way of emancipation, but they are not insurmountable. If the equitable principle be once admitted, *that the proprietors of slaves shall claim from the nation only* to such an amount as they may prove themselves to be eventually impoverished or damnified, by the contemplated change in the condition of their servants, the obstacles will disappear.

Q. 18. Would not a general emancipation of slaves entail on each owner a loss by every

slave emancipated, to the amount of the personal pecuniary value of such slave ?

A. This would certainly be the case were the slave emancipated by death ; but were he merely delivered from bond service, and brought into the condition of a free labourer, still resident upon the soil, his capacity for labour remaining, and his disposition to it, in the judgment of many persons, rather augmented than diminished by the change in his condition, it would not. Whatever questions might in that case arise between slave-holders and land-holders, no permanent loss would accrue to the West-Indian body collectively, and consequently no ground of claim for indemnification would exist, as against the British nation. But many questions of compensation would no doubt arise between parties connected with the West-Indies, which it would be necessary to adjust, and with a view to which a parliamentary commission appears to be desirable.

Q. 19. What are the cases in which such parliamentary interference would be necessary ?

A. They are numerous and diversified in their character. The mortgages of West-Indian property are known to be very numerous ; and many, if not all, mortgaged estates include slaves as a part of the property mortgaged. In some cases it has happened that the whole property mortgaged consisted of slaves. There are also proprietors of slaves who possess no land, but let out their slaves to landholders, in what are called jobbing gangs. The interests of all these parties would need protection, and a parliamentary commission would be able to afford it.

Q. 20. What makes the mortgages of West-Indian property so numerous ?

A.

A. There are those who believe that the injustice of keeping men in slavery, and the cruelty and oppression of the planters towards their slaves, entail on the former *failure and want of success*, as a just retribution appointed by Divine Providence, which no human prudence could alter, so long as the system continues.

Q. 21. Have not West-Indians some other way of accounting for their want of prosperity?

A. Yes: they pretend to account for it, by *maintaining that their protecting-duty and bounty are not sufficiently large to remunerate their expenses, and by insisting that these ought to be greatly augmented*, but without showing any valid reason for augmenting them, or exhibiting any proofs that even such augmentation would ensure to them the desired prosperity. The following extracts from a report of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, dated 23d November 1804, which has been laid on the table of the House of Commons, exhibit a correct view of their mode of reasoning on the subject, and show clearly to a candid reader, that “pro-
“ perty in slaves” is a sort of millstone round the neck of West-Indian commerce, although West-Indians will not confess or discern it. After advertng to the abolition of slavery, as the most fearful of calamities, they say, “an abo-
“ lition is not the sole means by which the West-India Islands
“ may be ruined: the same object may be obtained as com-
“ pletely, although *with somewhat less rapidity, by encourag-
“ ing the cultivation of sugar in the East-Indies*, where the
“ fertility of the soil, the facility of irrigation, the ease with
“ which commodities are transported by means of an exten-
“ sive inland navigation, *the abundance of provisions, the
“ cheapness of labour, and the structure of society give advan-
“ tages* which nature has denied to these islands, and where
“ the cultivator is exempt from the restrictions which bear

“ heaviest on our agriculture, and will operate as a positive
 “ and immense bounty to our rivals.”

It cannot but strike the intelligent reader of such a paragraph as the foregoing, that it would be difficult to show in what respect nature has denied advantages to the West-Indian colonies, with reference to the culture of sugar; but easy for him to perceive that slavery, and the consequent *expensiveness* of labour, is the bane of their system.

The report then contrasts at considerable length “ the
 “ comparative situation of the two countries in respect of
 “ their labourers, and the *capital* employed in the opera-
 “ tion of converting the cane-juice into sugar:” and infers, from the contrast, that the arrangement made on the subject of the duties on sugar, in 1803, which still left East-India sugar under a proscriptive duty, was unjust to the West-Indies. “ Far from acknowledging,” they say, “ the justice of this ratio, or admitting its policy, we are
 “ of opinion, and hope to satisfy the House, that had the
 “ discrimination proposed by the West-Indian planters
 “ in their application to His Majesty’s ministers of 25 *per*
 “ cent. been acceded to, it never could justly have been
 “ regarded as invidious. *Double that advance would in*
 “ *fact have been an inadequate protection in the home-*
 “ *market, and insufficient to compensate to us the restrictions*
 “ *and expenses imposed on us for the benefit of the mother-*
 “ *country.*” And again—“ *Extending it to 50 per cent.*
 “ *will be found a very inadequate compensation for the*
 “ restrictions and *expenses* attending on the West-India
 “ colonies, from which the eastern settlements are free.”

In another part of the same report the colonists observe :—

“ In showing the impossibility of continuing the culti-
 “ vation of sugar, under the present duties on that article
 “ and on rum, we have chosen to appeal to facts, well
 “ known

“ known and easily verified in Great Britain, rather than
 “ rest our case on the fatal consequences produced and
 “ passing before our eyes here. Every British merchant,
 “ holding securities on real estates, is filing bills in Chancery
 “ to foreclose, although, when he has obtained a decree, he
 “ hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become
 “ proprietor of the plantation, of which, from fatal expe-
 “ rience, he knows the consequences. No one will advance
 “ money to relieve those whose debts approach half the value
 “ of their property, nor even lend a moderate sum without a
 “ judgment in ejectment, and release of errors, that, at a
 “ moment’s notice, he may take out a writ of possession, and
 “ enter on the plantation of his unfortunate debtor. Sheriffs’
 “ officers and collectors of the internal taxes are every where
 “ offering for sale the property of individuals who have seen
 “ better days, and now must view their effects purchased for
 “ half their real value, and less than half the original costs.
 “ Far from having the reversion expected, the creditor is
 “ often not satisfied : all kind of credit is at an end. If
 “ litigation in the courts of common law has diminished, it is
 “ not from increased ability to perform contracts, but from
 “ confidence having ceased, and no man parting with pro-
 “ perty but for an immediate payment of the consideration.
 “ A faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful
 “ caricature. Unless speedy and efficacious means are
 “ adopted for giving permanent relief by a radical change of
 “ measures, we must suppose that the West-Indian islands
 “ are doomed to perish as useless appendages of the British
 “ Empire. Can the colonies perish alone ? and will not the
 “ statesman, whose measures shall complete their ruin, pre-
 “ cipitate, into the same abyss, the manufactures and com-
 “ merce of the parent state ?”

And in a report of the same Assembly, dated the 13th
 November 1807, reference is made to “ the melancholy
 “ fact,”

“ fact,” that the gradual depreciation of sugar had, at last, operated, “ not only to deprive the planter, generally speaking, of any interest whatever on his capital, but “ to oblige him, if he continue the cultivation of the “ sugar-cane, to do it at a considerable actual loss.” “ This, however, is not all: the planter must maintain “ himself and his family, and he ought, at least, to pay the “ interest of his debts.” “ Instead of being enriched by “ his labour,” the planter is described as actually “ considerably impoverished by it.”

The Report then goes on to enumerate sixty-five sugar-estates that had been thrown up, “ the proprietors “ of which are some of them reduced to ruin, and others “ subjected to very great loss;” thirty-two sugar-estates which have been sold under decrees from the Court of Chancery; and one hundred and fifteen more, “ respecting which, suits are now depending in the Court of “ Chancery;” besides many more bills which they knew were “ preparing for the sale of sugar-estates.” “ From “ all these facts,” it is added, “ the House will be able to “ judge to what an alarming extent the distresses of the “ sugar-planters have already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing; for the sugar- “ estates LATELY thrown up, brought to sale, and now in “ the Court of Chancery in this island and in England, “ amount to about one-fourth of the whole number in the “ colony.” The Report then proceeds to state that, when the average-price of sugar, exclusive of duty, is 45s. per cwt. the planter will have an interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on his capital; when it is 52s. 6d. per cwt. $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.; when it is 60s. per cwt. 7 per cent.; and when it is 70s. 3d. per cwt. he will have 10 per cent. on his capital; and the framers of the Report give it as their opinion that it ought not *in justice* to be less than this last sum; and that

that to that point measures should be taken, by the legislature, to raise it.

This then is the *summary remedy for West-Indian distress !!*

As compared with the present price of sugar, it would inflict a tax of five millions annually on the people of this country!! This tax the nation would have to pay in the consumption of sugar alone; and for what? 'To uphold the West-Indian price of sugar, and thereby the West-Indian price of slaves, and thus, if possible, in opposition to the immutable decrees of divine providence, to enable the West-Indian planters, to *prosper and derive profits from slave-labour*. It cannot be denied that the West-Indians have made out a case for legislative interference; but it is not clear that the interference should be precisely in the mode prescribed by them to the British public. 'Tax yourselves,' *they say* 'to the amount of £5,000,000 annually, that we may derive wealth from our system of slave-labour, &c.' May not the country, in the exercise of a sound discretion and just authority, reply to those gentlemen, 'we will abolish the system of slavery, and thus eventually relieve ourselves from the tax we already pay on that account?'

Q. 22. What general plan of emancipation appears most likely to meet the exigencies of the case, with justice to all parties and circumstances, and even with liberality on the part of the nation?

A. As a measure of pure liberality on the part of the nation, it might be expedient to charge the funds of the nation, by way of annuity, with the expense of indemnifying the slave-holders for the emancipation of such old slaves as remain of the original importation, and to grant a small compensation for slaves born in the Colonies, and

to refer the slave-holders to the land-owners for all further remuneration or indemnity; the amount of which, as well as the principle upon which it should be granted, are points open to future discussion, and might be adjusted in the way already suggested.

Q. 23. How is it probable that the land-owners would be able to meet such a demand?

A. The value of their land, when it became occupied by a free resident labouring population, would be proportionably enhanced.

Q. 24. Is it probable, or can it be proved that it would be proportionably enhanced?

A. There can be no reason to doubt that it would, by the operation of a principle which has long been found to be of universal influence in regulating the value of land; namely, that its value or price is proportionate not merely to its geographical extent, but to its contingent advantages and capabilities. In the West-Indies, land is at present estimated, *without* reference to any means of cultivation, simply as land, and bears a proportionably low price; every purchaser knowing that, after he has possessed himself of land, he has still to find the means of cultivating it. But, were the slave-population of the colonies converted into a free resident negro population, under wholesome laws, which encouraged industry by moral motives, the purchaser of land in the West-Indies, like the purchaser of land in England, knowing that he could get it well cultivated with small trouble and expense, would be able and willing to pay for it a proportionably high price. It is notorious, that, in every country where the land is not common, but held as private property, its value is relative and governed by its quality and capabilities; such as its proximity to, or distance from a market

market town or navigable stream; the presence or absence of a healthy, robust, and laborious population; or any other circumstances affecting the means of cultivating it, and of turning its produce to the best account. This proposition will scarcely be disputed; the principle being of such universal application, that wherever population is thinly scattered, land is known to be of comparatively little value; and it rises in value as population improves. It is very improbable, therefore, that the British West-Indian colonies should prove to be the only exception to a rule found to be so uniformly correct.

Q. 25. Can reference be made to any facts in support of this doctrine respecting the value of land?

A. The proposition being so self-evident, and admitting of such satisfactory proof, which every candid individual may ascertain for himself by inquiry in his own neighbourhood, it appears to be unnecessary to load it with formal proof. Those who are not fully satisfied, would do well to inquire the value of an acre of gardener's ground in the neighbourhood of London, and compare it with the value of a similar extent of ground at Van Diemen's Land, or on the Poyais estate. The latter was offered to the British public, not many years since, at 5s. per acre, as an inducement to settlers and cultivators to emigrate and take possession of it.

Q. 26. As a general emancipation would in fact extinguish a large amount of nominal capital, now invested in the persons of the slaves in the colonies, would the presumed or expected improvement in the value of the land compensate that loss?

A. Probably it would not afford full compensation according to West-Indian estimates, nor does justice require that it should. The present high value of slave labour, and consequently of slaves, being sustained by art, requires in some way or other to be reduced. It is too much for the West Indians to expect that the government will long continue to uphold their exclusive pretensions, at an expense to the nation of nearly two millions per annum (p. 82); and any withdrawal of their exclusive privilege and bounty, would materially reduce the demand for the fruit of slave labour, and, by necessary consequence, the value of their slaves; although it would still leave the proprietors in possession of every thing they are equitably entitled to hold.

Q. 27. What is the valuation which West-Indians have set upon their property in slaves?

A. It varies materially according to the fancy of the calculators. The valuation put upon the slaves, who have been lately executed in the West-Indies, is about £50 each. Taken at this sum as an average price, the total slave population, amounting to not more than 730,000 slaves (p. 48) would, were they all adults, be worth less than £36,000,000, but the author of "The West-Indies as they are," who is an advocate for emancipation, has estimated them at 120 or 130 millions, and they have been estimated in parliament at 150 millions of pounds sterling, which last-mentioned sum is something more than £200 for each slave, male and female, infant and adult. It does appear from the parliamentary returns already referred to, (p. 85) that in the West-Indies, when a slave wishes to purchase his own liberty, having by some accident acquired the means of doing so, or when a European wishes to enfranchise his creole child, or the female with whom he
 cohabits

cohabits—such sums as £230, and £240 are demanded and received for the emancipation of a slave: but it by no means necessarily follows, that the nation should purchase the whole stock at such prices, even were the object to restore them to their own country; still less should such sums be expected for converting slaves into free-labourers.

Q. 28. How has the price of slaves in the West-Indies attained to such an extravagant height as it has?

A. It has arisen out of a bad system which has been too long tolerated, and is upheld by the favour which is still most impolitically shown to it. The enormous valuation of slaves is, in fact, a bubble which must break or be broken, and the sooner the better, for the interests of humanity. It may be easily shown that measures, as opposite in their character as light and darkness, have combined to blow up this bubble.

Q. 29. What are the measures which have combined, in so extraordinary a manner, to enhance the price of slaves in the West-Indies?

A. That most righteous and merciful measure, the abolition of the slave-trade, by which foreign supplies for the plantations were prohibited; and the still merciless treatment of the slaves in the Colonies, which causes a gradual diminution of their numbers.—(See p. 49.) These measures have combined with the preference given by the British Government to West-Indian sugar, to enhance the price of West-Indian slaves.

Q. 30. Does any other cause concur with these in keeping up the price of slaves in the West-Indies?

A. Yes: the great demand for West-Indian produce,

which every individual who consumes rum, or West-Indian sugar, or coffee, contributes to perpetuate and augment?

Q. 31. What would be the probable effect of any considerable diminution in the consumption of West-Indian produce?

A. A proportionate diminution in the value of slaves, and an increase in their comfort. The planters having less occasion or inducement to overwork them, might probably leave them more to themselves, and be tempted to allow them to cultivate larger provision-grounds, or to catch fish for their support, or to eat a little of their own sugar, or coffee (the demand for these articles in Europe having diminished), or might permit and teach the women and children to manufacture a little of their home-grown cotton into garments for the negroes, instead of importing coarse ready-made clothing for them from England, at an enormous and ridiculous expense. In short, any material diminution in the demand for West-Indian produce would tend to reduce the value of labour, and consequently of the slaves who are the labourers there, and to bring back the West-Indian trade, as well as the fortunes of the slave-proprietors to *their more natural and wholesome level*. A reduction of the present enormous price of slaves would remove the chief obstacle out of the way of emancipation.

Q. 32. Have any modes of partial and gradual abolition been proposed which are free from the objections to which the absolute and immediate abolition of slavery is, by some, considered to be obnoxious?

A. Yes, several. *First*, that of declaring all children born of slaves, after a given date, to be free-born, and of providing

providing for their education at the expense of the nation. *Secondly*, by the removal of existing legal obstacles to the manumission of slaves, by purchase. *Thirdly*, by supplying a small number of slaves annually, with the funds necessary to enable them to redeem themselves, selecting such individuals for the reception of the boon as can, upon a public examination, produce the most decisive certificates of excellent character. *Fourthly*, by allowing slaves to buy out their freedom by degrees, that is, first paying an equitable price for one day in every week, on which day they are to be exclusively their own, and which they might so improve as to be soon able to buy another day, and then another, until they had, by degrees, accomplished their freedom. Some of these measures were among Mr. Buxton's propositions in the House of Commons in 1823; and it was suggested, that £500,000 annually would not be improperly employed in effecting the annual emancipation of probably not less than 5,000 slaves.

Q. 33. Have any of these modes of partial or gradual emancipation been brought to the test of experiment in any ~~other~~ slave colonies?

A. Some of them have, and with entire success.

Q. 34. Where, and when?

A. On the island of Ceylon, all children born of Slaves, since the year 1816, have been declared free. At Bencoolén, on the island of Sumatra, the same principle was introduced by Sir T. S. Raffles, in the year 1818; and on the island of St. Helena, by Sir Hudson Lowe, in the year 1819. It has also been introduced into Columbia, in South America, to take effect from the day upon which the present constitution of government for that country was proclaimed. In New York, in North America, it was adopted more than thirty years since, in consequence of which,

which, slavery is now nearly extinct in that province. It has also been introduced into New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the New England States. This is perhaps the most simple and easy, while it is certainly an altogether unexceptionable mode of abolishing Slavery.

Q. 35. Have the other modes of gradual abolition been tried ?

A. Most of them have been tried in the same Colonies, and with success. That of allowing slaves to purchase their freedom, one day at a time, was first adopted by the Spaniards.

Q. 36. Have any dangerous consequences ensued from the emancipation of slaves ?

A. Not in any instance. In North America, in St. Domingo, and at Sierra-Leone, bodies of emancipated negroes have taken to peaceful industry, without disturbance or difficulty.* Even in the West-Indian colonies, there are large numbers of blacks and creoles, whose freedom has been given to them by will, and in some few instances acquired by grant or by purchase, and who live in such good obedience to the laws, that the *worst part* of their conduct known in this country is, that some of them imitating their former masters, have become slave-holders.

Q. 37. What necessary connexion has the present question respecting the abolition of Slavery, with the former question respecting the Slave-trade ?

A. They are two parts of national repentance for the same original transgression.

In

* See Clarkson's *Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies, &c.*

In relinquishing the Slave-trade, Great Britain resolved to be no longer guilty, either as principal or accessory, of the crime of *man-stealing* ; by abolishing slavery she will, although late, make restitution of the stolen property to its rightful owner.

Q. 38. What are the duties of an ABOLITIONIST?

A. To make himself acquainted with the history and facts of this great moral question. To abstain, as much as possible, from consuming West-Indian produce, such as sugar, rum, coffee, &c., in proportion to the demand for which the value of the slaves is enhanced, and the difficulty which that value interposes in the way of abolition is augmented; and, generally, to oppose all schemes which are calculated to strengthen the hands of the upholders of the West-Indian system, and render them independent of public opinion; but to favour all projects of an opposite description, and upon all occasions diligently to circulate useful information relative to the subject.

APPENDIX.

NARRATIVE of the *Enslavement of OTTOBAH CUGÓANO, a Native of Africa ; published by himself, in the Year 1787.*

[*The following artless narrative, as given to the public by the subject of it, in 1787, fell into the hands of the author of the foregoing pages when they were nearly completed, and after that portion of his work to which it more particularly belonged had been printed off. It is, nevertheless, a narrative of such high interest, and exhibits the Slave-trade and Slavery in such striking colours, throwing light upon not a few of the most important facts which form the argument of this work, that he could not resist the temptation to give it in an appendix, leaving it to operate unassisted upon the minds of his readers, and to inspire them, according to their respective mental constitutions, either with admiration or detestation of the SLAVE-TRADE and NEGRO SLAVERY.*]

I WAS early snatched away from my native country, with about eighteen or twenty more boys and girls, as we were playing in a field. We lived but a few days' journey from the coast where we were kidnapped, and as we were decoyed and drove along, we were soon conducted to a factory, and from thence, in the fashionable way of traffic, consigned

consigned to Grenada. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few remarks, as some account of myself, in this transposition of captivity.

I was born in the city of Agimague, on the coast of Fantyn; my father was a companion to the chief in that part of the country of Fantee, and when the old king died I was left in his house with his family; soon after I was sent for by his nephew, Ambro Accasa, who succeeded the old king in the chieftdom of that part of Fantee, known by the name of Agimague and Assinee. I lived with his children, enjoying peace and tranquillity, about twenty moons, which, according to their way of reckoning time, is two years. I was sent for to visit an uncle, who lived at a considerable distance from Agimague. The first day after we set out we arrived at Assinee, and the third day at my uncle's habitation, where I lived about three months, and was then thinking of returning to my father and young companion at Agimague; but by this time I had got well acquainted with some of the children of my uncle's hundreds of relations, and we were some days too venturesome in going into the woods to gather fruit and catch birds, and such amusements as pleased us. One day I refused to go with the rest, being rather apprehensive that something might happen to us; till one of my playfellows said to me, "Because you belong to the great men, you are afraid to venture your carcase, or else of the *bounsam*," which is the devil. This enraged me so much, that I set a resolution to join the rest, and we went into the woods, as usual; but we had not been above two hours, before our troubles began, when several great ruffians came upon us suddenly, and said we had committed a fault against their lord, and we must go and answer for it ourselves before him.

Some of us attempted, in vain, to run away, but pistols and cutlasses were soon introduced, threatening, that if we

offered to stir, we should all lie dead on the spot. One of them pretended to be more friendly than the rest, and said that he would speak to their lord to get us clear, and desired that we should follow him; we were then immediately divided into different parties, and drove after him. We were soon led out of the way which we knew, and towards evening, as we came in sight of a town, they told us that this great man of theirs lived there, but pretended it was too late to go and see him that night. Next morning there came three other men, whose language differed from ours, and spoke to some of those who watched us all the night; but he that pretended to be our friend with the great man, and some others, were gone away. We asked our keeper what these men had been saying to them, and they answered, that they had been asking them and us together to go and feast with them that day, and that we must put off seeing the great man till after, little thinking that our doom was so nigh, or that these villains meant to feast on us as their prey. We went with them again about half a day's journey, and came to a great multitude of people, having different music playing; and all the day after we got there, we were very merry with the music, dancing, and singing. Towards the evening, we were again persuaded that we could not get back to where the great man lived till next day; and when bed-time came, we were separated into different houses with different people. When the next morning came, I asked for the men that brought me there, and for the rest of my companions; and I was told that they were gone to the sea-side, to bring home some rum, guns, and powder, and that some of my companions were gone with them, and that some were gone to the fields to do something or other. This gave me strong suspicion that there was some treachery in the case, and I began to think that my hopes of returning home

again

again were all over. I soon became very uneasy, not knowing what to do, and refused to eat or drink, for whole days together, till the man of the house told me that he would do all in his power to get me back to my uncle; then I eat a little fruit with him, and had some thoughts that I should be sought after, as I would be then missing at home about five or six days. I inquired every day if the men had come back, and for the rest of my companions, but could get no answer of any satisfaction. I was kept about six days at this man's house, and in the evening there was another man came, and talked with him a good while, and I heard the one say to the other he must go, and the other said, the sooner the better; that man came out and told me that he knew my relations at Agimaque, and that we must set out to-morrow morning, and he would convey me there. Accordingly we set out next day, and travelled till dark, when we came to a place where we had some supper and slept. He carried a large bag, with some gold dust, which he said he had to buy some goods at the sea-side to take with him to Agimaque. Next day we travelled on, and in the evening came to a town, where I saw several white people, which made me afraid that they would eat me, according to our notion, as children, in the inland parts of the country. This made me rest very uneasy all the night, and next morning I had some victuals brought, desiring me to eat and make haste, as my guide and kidnapper told me that he had to go to the castle with some company that were going there, as he had told me before, to get some goods. After I was ordered out, the horrors I soon saw and felt, cannot be well described; I saw many of my miserable countrymen chained two and two, some handcuffed, and some with their hands tied behind. We were conducted along by a guard, and when we arrived at the castle, I asked my

guide what I was brought there for, he told me to learn the ways of the *browfow*, that is, the white-faced people. I saw him take a gun, a piece of cloth, and some lead for me, and then he told me that he must now leave me there, and went off. This made me cry bitterly, but I was soon conducted to a prison, for three days, where I heard the groans and cries of many, and saw some of my fellow-captives. But when a vessel arrived to conduct us away to the ship, it was a most horrible scene ; there was nothing to be heard but the rattling of chains, smacking of whips, and the groans and cries of our fellow-men. Some would not stir from the ground, when they were lashed and beat in the most horrible manner. I have forgot the name of this infernal fort ; but we were taken in the ship that came for us, to another that was ready to sail from Cape Coast. When we were put into the ship, we saw several black merchants coming on board, but we were all drove into our holes, and not suffered to speak to any of them. In this situation we continued several days in sight of our native land ; but I could find no good person to give any information of my situation to Accasa at Agimaque. And when we found ourselves at last taken away, death was more preferable than life ; and a plan was concerted amongst us, that we might burn and blow up the ship, and to perish all together in the flames : but we were betrayed by one of our own countrywomen, who slept with some of the headmen of the ship, for it was common for the dirty filthy sailors to take the African women and lie upon their bodies ; but the men were chained and pent up in holes. It was the women and boys which were to burn the ship, with the approbation and groans of the rest ; though that was prevented, the discovery was likewise a cruel bloody scene.

But it would be needless to give a description of all the
horrible

horrible scenes which we saw, and the base treatment which we met with in this dreadful captive situation, as the similar cases of thousands, which suffer by this infernal traffic, are well known. Let it suffice to say that I was thus lost to my dear indulgent parents and relations, and they to me. All my help was cries and tears, and these could not avail, nor suffered long, till one succeeding woe and dread swelled up another. Brought from a state of innocence and freedom, and, in a barbarous and cruel manner, conveyed to a state of horror and slavery, this abandoned situation may be easier conceived than described. From the time that I was kidnapped, and conducted to a factory, and from thence in the brutish, base, but fashionable way of traffic, consigned to Grenada, the grievous thoughts which I then felt, still pant in my heart; though my fears and tears have long since subsided. And yet it is still grievous to think that thousands more have suffered in similar and greater distress, under the hands of barbarous robbers, and merciless task-masters; and that many, even now, are suffering in all the extreme bitterness of grief and woe, that no language can describe. The cries of some, and the sight of their misery, may be seen and heard afar; but the deep-sounding groans of thousands, and the great sadness of their misery and woe, under the heavy load of oppressions and calamities inflicted upon them, are such as can only be distinctly known to the ears of Jehovah Sabaoth.

This Lord of Hosts, in his great providence, and in great mercy to me, made a way for my deliverance from Grenada. Being in this dreadful captivity and horrible slavery, without any hope of deliverance, for about eight or nine months, beholding the most dreadful scenes of misery and cruelty, and seeing my miserable companions often cruelly lashed, and, as it were, cut to pieces, for the most trifling faults;

faults; this made me often tremble and weep, but I escaped better than many of them. For eating a piece of sugar-cane, some were cruelly lashed, or struck over the face, to knock their teeth out. Some of the stouter ones, I suppose, often reprov'd, and grown hardened and stupid with many cruel beatings and lashings, or perhaps faint and pressed with hunger and hard labour, were often committing trespasses of this kind, and when detected, they met with exemplary punishment. Some told me they had their teeth pulled out, to deter others, and to prevent them from eating any cane in future. Thus seeing my miserable companions and countrymen in this pitiful, distressed, and horrible situation, with all the brutish baseness and barbarity attending it, could not but fill my little mind with horror and indignation. But I must own, to the shame of my own countrymen, that I was first kidnapped and betrayed by some of my own complexion, who were the first cause of my exile and slavery; but if there were no buyers there would be no sellers. So far as I can remember, some of the Africans in my country keep slaves, which they take in war, or for debt; but those which they keep are well fed, and good care taken of them, and treated well; and as to their clothing, they differ according to the custom of the country. But I may safely say, that all the poverty and misery that any of the inhabitants of Africa meet with among themselves, is far inferior to those inhospitable regions of misery which they meet with in the West-Indies, where their hard-hearted overseers have neither regard to the laws of God, nor the life of their fellow-men.

Thanks be to God, I was delivered from Grenada, and that horrid brutal slavery. A gentleman coming to England took me for his servant, and brought me away, where I soon found my situation become more agreeable. After coming to England, and seeing others write and read, I had

had a strong desire to learn, and getting what assistance I could, I applied myself to learn reading and writing, which soon became my recreation, pleasure, and delight ; and when my master perceived that I could write some, he sent me to a proper school for that purpose to learn. Since, I have endeavoured to improve my mind in reading, and have sought to get all the intelligence I could, in my situation of life, towards the state of my brethren and countrymen in complexion, and of the miserable situation of those who are barbarously sold into captivity, and unlawfully held in slavery.

FINIS.